Medieval and Modern Greek

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Preface to the second edition

When the first edition of this book went out of print a year or two ago, colleagues and friends in this country and abroad urged me to bring it up to date. The kind offer by the Cambridge University Press to publish a second edition was thus particularly welcome, and for many reasons. Much work has been done in the last fifteen years on the history of Greek in the post-classical and medieval periods. The political events in Greece since 1967 have been reflected in an unusually rapid change in linguistic usage, which has made all earlier discussions of the 'language question' to some extent out of date. Partly as a consequence of this students of linguistics have shown a lively interest in modern Greek in recent years.

In revising the earlier edition I have tried to remove as many as possible of the errors and infelicities which disfigured it. Much has been rewritten, and there is scarcely a page which stands unchanged from the first edition. The bibliography, which lists only works referred to in the notes, bears witness to the flourishing state of medieval and modern Greek studies today.

I am glad to be able to thank the Cambridge University Press for the efficiency and courtesy with which they have transformed an untidy manuscript into a book; Mandy Macdonald, the Press's subeditor, whose skill and alertness enabled many inconsistencies and ambiguities to be corrected in time; and the Trustees for Harvard University for appointing me to a Fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, in spring 1982, during which most of the work on this book was done.

July 1982   ROBERT BROWNING

Preface to the first edition

The Homeric poems were first written down in more or less their present form in the seventh century B.C. Since then Greek has enjoyed a continuous tradition down to the present day. Change there has certainly been. But there has been no break like that between Latin and the Romance languages. Ancient Greek is not a foreign language to the Greek of today as Anglo-Saxon is to the modern Englishman. The only other language which enjoys comparable continuity of tradition is Chinese.

The study of Greek in England, as in most other countries, has traditionally been concentrated upon the classical language. The New Testament was left to theologians, and a nineteenth-century schoolboy who attempted to imitate it in his prose composition would have got short shrift from his teacher. The medieval and modern stages of the language were largely ignored.

Today the situation has changed. There is a widespread interest in Modern Greek. And the Byzantine world attracts the attention of students of history, literature and art. Classical scholars no longer regard it as beneath their dignity to concern themselves with the Greek of the middle ages and modern times.

The present volume aims to provide an introduction to the development of the Greek language from the Hellenistic age to the present day. It will be of use primarily to those who know some ancient Greek and who wish to explore the later history of the language. But it is the author's hope that it will also be helpful to those who have learnt Modern Greek and who seek some guidance in their approach to the medieval or classical language. It cannot be too much emphasised that Greek is one language, and not a series of distinct languages. If one wants to learn Greek, it does not really matter whether one begins with Homer, with Plato, with the New Testament, with the Romance of Digenis Akritas, or with Kazantzakis. The effort required to tackle earlier or later stages, once the student is firmly grounded in one stage, is not great. And educated Greek speakers have always had present in their minds the whole of the language up to their own time, drawn upon it,

alluded to it, and consciously modified it. It is this intellectual continuity which makes the study of Greek both rewarding and difficult.

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1   *Introductory*

Speakers of Greek entered the southern part of the Balkan peninsula in the first half of the second millennium B.C.[1] From then until the present day they have formed the overwhelming majority of the population of the region. From this nucleus Greek spread to become the language of both isolated settlements and large areas all round the Mediterranean coast as well as of the greater part of the land mass of Asia Minor.[2] In addition it served at various times as a language of culture, of administration, of trade in areas where it was not the native language of the mass of the population: it fulfilled this role as far east as the foothills of the Pamir and the Indus valley in Hellenistic times,[3] throughout Egypt and beyond its frontiers to the south in Hellenistic and Roman times, in the Slavonic-speaking areas of the northern Balkan peninsula during the middle ages. Lastly there have existed at various periods, including the present, compact communities of Greek speakers settled in areas of non-Greek speech, and often maintaining their identity and their national consciousness for many generations; examples which spring to the mind are the Greek trading community of Southern Gaul of which St Irenaeus was a member, the 'hungry Greeklings' of Juvenal's Rome – one of whom was St Clement –, the Greek village of Cargèse in Corsica,[4] the Greek communities of the present-day United States,[5] the Greek communities of Odessa and Alexandria, the Hellenophone Cypriot community of London.[6]

[1] For an exhaustive and detailed survey of the evidence and the problems cf. *Cambridge Ancient History* I (1973), especially chapters 4, 12, 13, 14; II (1975), especially chapters 22, 27, 36, 38, 39, 40. It is still difficult to establish correlations between archaeological and linguistic evidence.

[2] Boardman (1980) for the earlier period. Much information on the Hellenisation of Asia Minor is to be found scattered throughout Magie (1950). But there is still no systematic study of this important topic.

[3] Tarn (1938); Narain (1957); Woodcock (1966).

[4] Blanken (1947), (1951).

[5] Cf. Saloutos (1964), (1967); Seaman (1972); Psomiades and Scourby (1982).

[6] George and Millerson (1966/7).

In spite of its geographical extension and the existence of Greek-speaking enclaves far from the main mass of speakers of the language, Greek has always remained one language. There have been in the past and are today considerable dialectal differences. But neither in the past nor today have they been sufficiently great to impede communication between speakers of different dialects. Nor has there ever been in historic times any other language even partially intelligible to Greek speakers without special study.[7] No Greek speaker was or is ever in doubt whether another man's speech is Greek or not. Though local dialects have sometimes acquired prestige as vehicles of literature outside the area in which they were spoken, there has never been any tendency for Greek to break up into a series of languages either mutually not fully intelligible or felt by their speakers to be distinct, as Vulgar Latin broke up into the various Romance languages.

Perhaps connected with this continuous identity over some three and a half millennia is the slowness of change in Greek. It is still recognisably the same language today as it was when the Homeric poems were written down, probably around 700 B.C., though it must be observed that the traditional orthography masks many of the phonological changes which have taken place.[8] The continuity of lexical stock is striking – though here too things are not as simple as they seem at first sight. And though there has been much rearrangement of morphological patterns, there has also been much continuity, and Greek is quite clearly even today an archaic, 'Indo-European' type of language, like Latin or

[7] There was no consensus in antiquity on whether the Macedonians were Greek or not. Herodotus 1.56, 8.43 states that they were originally Dorians. Thucydides 4.124–7 maintains that they were 'barbarian'; so also Isocrates, *Philippus* 106–8, Demosthenes, *Olynth.* 3.24. The argument is mainly about culture and politics, not about language. There is clear evidence that Macedonian was not readily understood by most Greeks (Plutarch, *Alex.* 51.4, *Eumenes* 14, Curtius Rufus 6.9.37, Livy 31.29, etc.). Alleged Macedonian words, personal names, and place-names provide no clear solution. The most likely hypothesis is that Macedonian was either an aberrant Greek dialect or an Indo-European language closely akin to Greek. Cf. Katičić (1976) 100–16. The language of the Epirotes is repeatedly described in antiquity as non-Greek (Thucydides 1.47, 1.51, 2.80, etc., Strabo 8.1.3). Yet the Epirotes were connected with the origin of various Greek communities. There may well have been an ethnic and linguistic mixture in Epirus, some tribes speaking Greek, others Illyrian or some other language (cf. Hammond (1967) 423; Katičić (1976) 120–7).

[8] Failure to recognise the irrelevance of an orthography which was no longer phonological has often led to the postulation of ghost-words or ghost-forms. cf. Palmer (1934), (1939), (1945) 1–5.

Russian, not a modern, analytical language, like English or Persian. There has been no passage from one typological category to another. The verbal system in particular has preserved most of its structure and many of its morphological features, while there has been more far-reaching rearrangement of the nominal system. Earlier stages of the language are thus accessible to speakers of later stages, in a way that Anglo-Saxon or even Middle English is not accessible to speakers of modern English. One must of course distinguish between active and passive linguistic competence. Inability to speak or write a particular form of a language does not necessarily imply inability to understand it. In Greece, thanks to an educational system which often overvalued linguistic archaism and to the frequent exposure of all classes to archaising language, particularly that of the liturgy, passive ability to understand – up to a point – older forms of the language is widespread.

Greek was first written in a syllabary adapted from one designed for a non-Hellenic, and probably non-Indo-European, language in the second half of the second millennium B.C.[9] However, with the collapse of the Mycenean civilisation this syllabary seems to have been quickly forgotten, and Greece reverted to illiteracy for several centuries. It is uncertain when or by whom the Phoenician alphabet was adapted to represent Greek by using certain superfluous consonant signs to indicate vowels. But by the late eighth century B.C. several varieties of the new Greek alphabet were in use for sepulchral and other inscriptions.[10] From this early period date also a number of casual verses and personal remarks scratched on pottery or carved on natural rock surface, which bear witness to the use of the new alphabetic writing for 'unofficial' purposes and to widespread familiarity with it. Perhaps the earliest Greek 'literary' text is a line and a half of verse containing an allusion to the cup of Nestor described in the Iliad, which is scratched on a jug found in Ischia, and plausibly dated to the third quarter of the eighth century.[11] By the sixth century at the latest the study of reading and writing was being added to the traditional

[9] Chadwick (1958) gives a popular but authoritative account. The now immense literature on the subject can best be followed through the annual bibliography and index, *Studies in Mycenean Inscriptions and Dialect*, published by the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, 1956 ff., and in periodical bibliographies in the journal *Kadmos*.
[10] Jeffery (1961); Lejeune (1966); Diringer (1968); Pfohl (1968).
[11] Buchner and Russo (1955).

curriculum of gymnastics and music in some cities. From that date until the present day there has been a continuous and un-interrupted literary tradition, maintained by schools, by a body of grammatical literature, and by the continuous study of a limited number of literary texts, whose linguistic form came to differ more and more from that of current speech. The prestige of these literary texts was high, and they came more and more to serve as models for formal speech and writing. By the first century of our era a new kind of diglossy had begun – new in the sense that it was something more than the usual opposition between dialect and standard language, between casual and more formal utterance, between prose and poetry, and so on. The reasons for this development will be discussed later. What we are here concerned with is the continuous pressure exercised through schools and other institutionalised means in favour of language patterns which enjoyed prestige, and in particular of archaic patterns, and the corresponding discrimination against those features of living speech which were felt to clash with the prescribed patterns. The effect of this pressure on the development of the spoken language was probably extremely slight until recently; literacy was never, in ancient times or in the middle ages, sufficiently widespread. But it did mean that any formal utterance, and in particular any written sample of language, might differ considerably from 'normal' speech. The degree of difference varied. Imitation of all the fea-tures of the models was an unattainable goal, even for those who devoted the main effort of their lives to it. All literature and all written documents of late antiquity and the middle ages show a mixture of diverse elements, the continuously developing language of the people being adulterated in varying degrees and in various ways by classicising Greek. This is true even of texts ostensibly written in popular Greek. The knowledge of writing could be acquired only by some study, however superficial, of the literary language and elements of the classical tradition, and writing could not be practised without making concessions to that tradition.

Thus in spite of the large number of texts surviving from all periods, it is often extremely difficult to trace the development of the language as it was actually used in most situations. The real process of change is masked by a factitious, classicising uniformity. For the period up to the eleventh century A.D. we are dependent largely on negative evidence, i.e. on what the grammarians enjoin their pupils not to do. This evidence can be

supplemented for the earlier part of the period – up to the middle of the seventh century – by that of non-literary papyri from Egypt, containing letters, shopping lists, tax receipts, petitions, and the like. But it must be borne in mind that the writers of these are usually trying their best – which may be not a very good best – to write purist Greek; their evidence is never unequivocal. A further check is provided by a series of literary texts which display features of the spoken language. These are mainly world chronicles, tales of ascetics, and lives of saints. Examples are the *Chronicle* of John Malalas (sixth century) and the *Chronography* of Theophanes (early ninth century), *The Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschos (†619), the lives of Palestinian saints by Cyril of Scythopolis (sixth century) and the *Life of St John the Almsgiver* by Leontios of Neapolis in Cyprus (seventh century). None of these works is in any sense a reproduction of contemporary spoken Greek; they are mixtures of living speech and dead tradition, like all medieval Greek texts. One must in each case try to determine the proportions of the mixture, and also the reason for the adoption of this particular literary form: it may be important to know whether we are dealing with an incompetent attempt to write purist Greek or with the work of a man of learning who tries to make concessions to uneducated readers or hearers. A further practical difficulty is the scarcity of lexica, indexes and grammatical studies of early medieval Greek texts, whether purist or sub-standard.[12] We often do not know what is 'normal', however we may define that term.

In the later medieval and early modern periods we have a great deal more direct evidence. There is a large body of literature, mostly poetry, written in a linguistic form which is clearly not that of contemporary purist literature.[13] To take only a few examples, there are the vernacular Prodromic poems of the middle of the twelfth century, the poems of Michael Glykas of the same period, the *Chronicle of the Morea* from the end of the thirteenth century, a group of verse romances which are difficult to date exactly, but

[12] Psaltes (1913) offers a very useful collection of material. There are no lexica or concordances to any of these authors. Recent important studies in which references to the earlier literature will be found, include Mihevc-Gabrovec (1960); Weierholt (1963); Tabachovitz (1943); Linnér (1943); Wolff (1961); Zilliacus (1967).

[13] For a survey of this early demotic literature and its problems cf. Knös (1962), Beck (1971) and (1975), E. Jeffreys (1979) and (1981), E. and M. Jeffreys (1979), M. Jeffreys (1975).

which probably belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the epic poems on Achilles and Belisarios, various popular treatments of the theme of the Trojan War, laments on the fall of Constantinople, the poem on the plague at Rhodes of Emmanuel Georgillas (end of the fifteenth century), the poems of the Cretans Georgios Choumnos, Stephanos Sakhlikis and Marinos Phalieros (same period), a group of love poems in Cypriot dialect, probably of the sixteenth century, and the extensive and important literature of the Cretan school of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, culminating in the *Erotokritos* of Vintsentzos Kornaros.

Here we seem to be treading firmer ground. No single line of any of these poems could possibly be supposed to be intended as purist Greek. And certain of them are written in a dialect whose forms are often distinct from those of the literary language. But appearances may be deceptive, and close inspection of any of these texts reveals certain disquieting features. For instance, at the lexical level, we find that the Corfiot poet Iakovos Trivolis (first half of the sixteenth century) has three different words for 'lion' in one and the same poem: λέων, λεοντάρι and λιοντάρι. Were these all current in the spoken Greek of his time, or are some of them lexical borrowings from the purist language? At the level of morphology, Trivolis, like many writers of early demotic poetry, uses two forms for the third person plural of the present indicative or subjunctive, -ουσι and -ουν, and two corresponding forms for the third person plural of the imperfect and aorist indicative, -ασι and -αν. Now -ουσι, the Attic and Koine form, is that current in the purist language, while -ουν is that of modern common demotic; and medieval grammarians enjoin the use of -ουσι and warn against that of -ουν. Are the -ουσι forms purist intrusions in the basically demotic language of Trivolis? A further consideration may make us hesitate. Modern Greek dialects are divided between -ουσι and -ουν, -ασι and -αν.[14] Those which use the one do not normally use the other but there are areas where both are in use, e.g. Crete. Have we therefore a mixture of different contemporary dialect forms, such as is often found in a literary language, especially in a nation of travellers like the Greeks? We cannot really answer this question without considering the problem of the

[14] -ουσι and -ασι are found in Cyprus, Crete, certain of the Sporades and in South Italy, i.e. in a peripheral belt. Cf. Thumb (1895) § 165. On the beginnings of the replacement of -ουσι by -ουν cf. Gignac (1981) 359.

origin of these terminations. Now -ασι belongs historically to the perfect tense, and -αν to the aorist. In living speech the distinction between the two tenses disappeared in late antiquity, partly thanks to the coincidence of certain perfect and aorist forms, but mainly owing to the restructuring of the system of aspects in early medieval Greek.[15] In medieval purist Greek the two tenses are formally distinguished, but are semantically equivalent. Are the -ασι forms due to the influence of the purist language? Do they owe their preservation to the analogy of the -ουσι forms of the present? Was there really a choice in sixteenth-century spoken Greek between -ουσι and -ουν, -ασι and -αν, a choice which was resolved in later common demotic in favour of -ουν and -αν? These are questions which it would be premature to seek to answer at this stage, and to which an answer is sometimes impossible in the present state of our knowledge. But they are questions which are squarely posed by lines in which both forms are found side by side, such as τόσον ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ ποθοῦν, ὅσα ποὺ δὲν ποθοῦσι 'as much those who desire it as those who do not desire it',[16] and by parallel formulae in which now the one form, now the other occurs, like φωνάζασι μεγάλα 'cry aloud' and 'καστὶ καοὺρ' φωνάζαν 'cry "Kasti giaour"'.[17]

Similarly, Trivolis uses both the modern demotic nominative form ὁ πατέρας 'the father' and the purist genitive singular form τοῦ πατρός. Were both patterns of declension familiar in the spoken Greek of his time, or is the latter a classicising reminiscence? Genitive singulars in -ός occur in many types of nouns in certain dialects, particularly in the Ionian Islands, where one may hear τῆς θυγατερός, τῆς πορτός, τοῦ ἀφεντός, etc. In common demotic τοῦ ἀντρός μου is as common as τοῦ ἄντρα μου.[18] When we find the author of the *Chronicle of the Morea* regularly using the purist nominative singular for θυγάτηρ 'daughter' (the demotic form is θυγατέρα) not only as a nominative, but also as an accusative, e.g. v.2492: καὶ χαιρετᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου τὴν θυγάτηρ 'and greets the daughter of that King', we are clearly dealing with an ill-conceived attempt at literary style by a writer

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[15] Mihevc (1959).   [16] Irmscher (1956) 64.

[17] Ibid. 44, 46. (NB anomalous accentuation of φωνάζαν, probably on the analogy of φωνάζαμε, φωνάζατε; there is a strong tendency to accent all three persons of the plural verb on the same syllable.)

[18] On these genitives in -ος cf. Ruge (1969) 62–3. A Greek friend tells me (March 1983) that one would be likely to say ἡ μητέρα τοῦ ἀντρός μου but ἡ ὀμπρέλλα τοῦ ἄντρα μου.

who is in general relatively immune to the influence of the purist
tradition; the poem was probably composed by a Hellenised
Frank and a Catholic, and it is in fact uncertain whether the Greek
or the Old French version is the original. The analogical
argument underlying this bastard form, which is neither purist
Greek nor demotic is as follows: the demotic form θυγατέρα
functions both as nominative and accusative, as is normal for
feminine substantives; to θυγατέρα in its nominative function the
corresponding purist form is θυγάτηρ; this is then extended in
scope to correspond to demotic θυγατέρα in its accusative function;
the true purist accusative form is actually θυγατέρα, which is felt to
be demotic and thus insufficiently elevated for the description of a
royal personage. Thus we see that even a poet as remote from the
Byzantine literary tradition as the author of the *Chronicle of the
Morea* is affected by it, perhaps unconsciously, as soon as he takes
his pen in his hand, or dictates something to be read aloud.

At the level of syntax we find in Trivolis both infinitives and
subjunctive clauses introduced by νά after θέλω in the periphrastic
future, e.g. εἰπεῖν ἤθελα, κάμειν ἤθελα, θέλετε τὴν ἀκούσει, θέλει
ἐλθεῖ, θὲς εὑρεῖ, θὲς ἰδεῖ, ἤθελα ἐμπῆ side by side with θὲς νὰ
μετατρέψῃς, θὲ νὰ κρεμάσω. Now the infinitive had long vanished
from demotic Greek in most of its usages, and had been replaced
by a clause or by a verbal noun, long before the sixteenth century.
It is therefore tempting to dismiss Trivolis' infinitives as learned
forms, alien to the spoken Greek of his time. But it is noteworthy
that he does not use infinitive forms except after θέλω. Future
forms in medieval Greek are peculiarly labile. The ancient Greek
future forms were already ceasing to be distinctive in the Koine as
a result of phonological changes, and a variety of periphrases with
ἔχω, θέλω etc. are found in the less purist texts of late antiquity and
the middle ages.[19] Futures of the form θέλω γράψει are found in
some dialects. It cannot be ruled out that θέλω plus infinitive was a
living form in the spoken Greek of the sixteenth century, side by
side with the alternative pattern θέλω νά plus subjunctive, which
is the ancestor of the modern demotic future form θά plus
subjunctive.[20] A slightly different problem is exemplified by the

[19] Bănescu (1915); Pernot (1946). On the history of the infinitive and its sub-
stitutes in Greek cf. most recently Joseph (1978) 12–52.

[20] The chronicles and early demotic texts, such as Spaneas, Glykas,
Ptochoprodromos have only a few uncertain cases of θέλω + inf. as a future
periphrasis. It becomes much commoner in the later demotic poetry and is
accompanied by a variety of alternative forms; cf. Pernot (1946).

construction of the indirect object. Dative forms had long vanished from living use, except in isolated phrases surviving as lexical items by the late middle ages.[21] In many of the poems under discussion we find side by side two patterns, accusative of indirect object and genitive of indirect object, e.g. *Chronicle of the Morea* v. 2486: σπουδαίως μαντάτα τοῦ ἤφεραν ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὸ κάστρον 'swiftly they brought him orders thither to the castle' and *ibid.* v. 2500: λέγουσιν τὸν μισὶρ Τζεφρὲ καὶ συμβουλεύσουνέ τον 'they speak to Monsieur Geoffroi and counsel him'. Now in modern Greek the dialects are divided sharply on this point. The dialects of Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly have σὲ δίνω, those of the rest of Greece σοῦ δίνω in the sense of 'I give you'.[22] In no dialect are both patterns habitually found. Modern common demotic, being based on southern dialects, has σοῦ δίνω. We know very little of the regional dialects of spoken Greek in the thirteenth century. It may be that the Peloponnesian vernacular familiar to the author of the Chronicle permitted both patterns. Or it may be that he is adulterating his native speech with a syntactical pattern from another dialect, which for some reason seemed to him more suitable for elevated utterance.[23]

Examples of this kind, at every level of linguistic analysis, could be multiplied indefinitely from the non-purist literature of the middle ages and later. All this literature is written in what appears to be a mixture of developing spoken Greek and static purist Greek. However, both vocabulary elements and morphological features which have become obsolete in common demotic often survive in dialects, hence not all that is archaic in appearance is necessarily due to the influence of the learned tongue.[24] The proportions of the mixture vary both between different texts and between different linguistic levels. But nowhere do we have a specimen of the spoken language of the time. In the past some scholars have failed to take account of this, and have supposed that each text was in principle written in a formalised version of the spoken language of the writer, and that therefore these texts offered direct evidence for the development of the spoken language. Jean Psichari (1854–1929), the leading champion of the

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[21] Humbert (1930).

[22] Triantaphyllides (1938) 66, 81.

[23] On this problem, which arises in connection with many medieval Greek texts, cf. Pernot (1946) 158.

[24] Böhlig (1957). On archaic lexical elements in modern Greek dialects Andriotis (1974) provides a rich store of information.

literary use of demotic at the end of the nineteenth century, and a Hellenist of impressive range and infectious enthusiasm, wasted many years in the compilation of statistics of the use of various morphological features, in the mistaken impression that he was tracing the development of vernacular Greek. He thus succeeded in dating most developments much too late, and in postulating their occurrence in an order which makes no sense.[25] His great contemporary and rival, Georgios Chatzidakis (1849–1941), pointed out that the proportion of old to new forms depends largely on the degree of education of the writer, and that statistics of the kind amassed by Psichari were of no value for the chronology of the development of the language.[26] He emphasised that what was important was to date the earliest occurrence of a new feature in the texts; this was what enabled us to reconstruct the history of the living, spoken language. Chatzidakis was right in principle (though he did not allow for the fact that the first instance of an innovation, if isolated, may be a failure in linguistic performance rather than an indication of change in pattern). But, like most scholars of his generation, brought up under the influence of the German Neo-Grammarians (Junggrammatiker), he overlooked two points of some importance. The first is that one linguistic feature does not simply replace another at a given moment of time. Both the old and the new may coexist in living speech, indeed must for some time. Where there is a long and continuous literary tradition, where therefore the archaic enjoys prestige, and earlier states of the language are maintained in the consciousness of its speakers, one would expect this coexistence of the old and the new to be particularly marked. In the case of Greek we must bear in mind not only the direct influence of the purist language upon the literate, but its indirect influence upon the illiterate, who hear it used on occasions of solemnity or by persons enjoying prestige in society: the familiarity of the vast majority of Greeks with the language of the Orthodox liturgy is particularly important in this connection.[27] It is therefore *a priori* probable

[25] This is an oversimplified statement of Psichari's views. For a more detailed and nuanced appreciation cf. Mirambel (1957). Nevertheless it remains true that most of the material so laboriously collected in Psichari (1886–1889) is irrelevant to the problems which the author was trying to solve.

[26] Chatzidakis' position was maintained in a number of major works, of which the most important are Chatzidakis (1892), (1905) and (1915).

[27] Antoniadis (1939).

that at any given time a speaker of Greek had before him a larger choice of linguistic patterns than a speaker of a language with no recorded literature and no traditional system of education. It is important to try to distinguish between alternatives within the spoken language and borrowings from purist Greek. Frequency counts, conducted with due precautions, may be of use for this purpose. To this extent Psichari was working on the right lines.

The second point in regard to which the work of the generation of Psichari and Chatzidakis is seen today to be inadequate is their tendency to regard linguistic changes as atomic. This inflection is replaced by that, two phonemes coincide, this or that tense or case falls out of use, as if each individual change were independent of all others. What they and their generation did not take into account is that language, at all its levels, is structured, and that phonological, morphological and syntactic changes, and to a lesser extent lexical changes, are generally only individual manifestations of a change in the structural pattern of the language at some level.[28] Thus when we find indications that -ες was replacing -αι in the nominative plural of first declension nouns, or that perfect and aorist forms of the verb were being used as equivalents, these are only symptoms of the reorganisation of the nominal declension in such a way as to efface the old distinction between vocalic and consonantal stems, on the one hand, and the reorganisation of the system of tenses and aspects of the verb on the other. In the succeeding chapters attention will be concentrated on the large structural changes rather than on the detailed changes of morphology and syntax. To some extent this method of approach enables us to surmount the difficulty alluded to in the previous paragraph of distinguishing between incidental imitations of purist Greek and real alternatives coexisting in the spoken tongue. Care must be taken, however, not to involve ourselves in circular arguments in this connection. And we must bear in mind that different structural patterns can coexist in the spoken language as

[28] Greek scholars have on the whole shown little interest in structural linguistics. The most important work by structuralists in the field of post-classical and modern Greek has been done by André Mirambel – e.g. Mirambel (1959), and a long series of articles in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique* and elsewhere, Hans-Jakob Seiler – Seiler (1952), (1958) etc., and other scholars working outside Greece. In recent years, however, Greek scholars have contributed diachronic studies which take account of modern structural and post-structural linguistics, e.g. Babiniotes (1972), Malikoute (1970).

alternatives. Contemporary modern Greek in fact permits much variation, e.g. in the personal endings of barytone (former contract) verbs; cf. pp. 81, 117.

The foregoing considerations give some idea of the precautions necessary in using the evidence of medieval texts to reconstruct the history of the spoken language. Many difficulties stem from the continuity of the literary tradition and the accompanying diglossy. This diglossy is not a simple matter of the coexistence of a literary and a spoken version of the same language, but of the presence of an abnormally wide choice of alternative modes of expression in the spoken language, plus a varying degree of admixture of lexical, syntactical and morphological elements belonging to, or thought by writers or speakers to belong to, an archaising and relatively unchanging purist language.

Periodisation of the history of the spoken language is therefore difficult, and inevitably only approximate.[29] It is clear, however, that behind the curtain of traditional linguistic uniformity, the modern Greek language had largely assumed its form by the tenth century and that many of the fundamental changes in its structure belong to the period of transition from the ancient world to the middle ages. In the following chapters particular attention will be concentrated on the period between the late Hellenistic Koine of the Roman empire and the tenth century. From the tenth to the fifteenth century we have, it is true, a great number of texts which show strong vernacular characteristics. These serve to illustrate the changes which can sometimes be only faintly traced in the foregoing centuries. Certain developments, in particular the tidying up of the structure of nominal declension and the adoption of extensive lexical loans from other languages, can confidently be placed in this period. The third period, from the fifteenth century to 1821, is one in which, for all the relative abundance of material, it is not easy to detect developments in the spoken tongue. To it belong the formation of a more or less standardised Cretan literary dialect, its replacement by an incipient literary language in the Ionian Islands, and the first steps toward the creation of modern standard demotic. The fourth period, from 1821 to the present day, is marked by the emergence of the 'Language Question', when the traditional diglossy begins to present peculiar problems to those bent on forging a modern national language and an educational system based upon it, and acquires political overtones

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[29] Kapsomenos (1958) 2; Mirambel (1963a); Chatzidakis (1930).

which it did not possess in the earlier period. For it must be borne in mind that while Greek diglossy extends over two millennia, the language question arises only with the birth of the Greek state. Other features of the fourth period are the rejection of a large number of Turkish loan-words which had become current in the language in the preceding period, and the immense lexical enrichment of the language as it became a vehicle of modern scientific, philosophical, political and literary expression.

This enrichment took place in part by the adoption of loanwords from other European languages, at first French and later English. But the existence of a continuous literary tradition enabled the language to augment its lexical stock largely from Greek sources, by the revival of obsolete words, the semantic modifications of existing words, the formation of linguistic calques, and above all by a complex process of internal borrowing between the traditional purist language and the developing demotic. These processes will be dealt with in detail in subsequent chapters, but a brief survey of the vocabulary elements of modern demotic will throw further light on what is the main theme of this introductory chapter – the peculiar situation created by a long and continuous literary tradition which makes all elements of Greek from antiquity to the present day in a sense accessible and 'present' to any literate Greek.

First there are words continuous in form and in meaning since classical times, e.g. ἀδελφός 'brother' (though most dialects, and often common demotic, prefer ἀδερφός in accordance with a regular phonetic development), γράφω 'write', ἄλλος 'other'. Then there are words modified in form in accordance with phonological and morphological developments, but identical in meaning with their classical Greek ancestors, e.g. μέρα 'day', βρίσκω 'find', ψηλός 'high', to which the corresponding classical Greek forms are ἡμέρα, εὑρίσκω, ὑψηλός. Next come words continuous in form since classical times, but whose meaning has changed, e.g. μετάνοια 'genuflection', χῶμα 'soil', στοιχίζω 'cost', φθάνω (or φτάνω, with demotic phonology) 'arrive'. Corresponding to these is a series of words which have undergone normal phonological or morphological development, and also a change of meaning, e.g. ντρέπομαι 'am ashamed', περιβόλι 'garden', ἀκριβός 'dear'.[30]

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[30] ἀκριβής, the classical form preserved in the purist language and borrowed thence by demotic, means 'accurate', hence the adverbs ἀκριβά 'dear' and ἀκριβῶς 'accurately'.

Alongside these four groups are four corresponding groups of words descended from neologisms of post-classical Koine Greek (which as far as modern Greek, and indeed medieval Greek, are concerned are not clearly distinguishable from lexical elements inherited from classical Greek). First, those continuous in form and meaning, e.g. κατόρθωμα 'success', ἐπιστημονικός 'scientific', φωτίζω 'illuminate'. Next, those modified in form but identical in meaning, e.g. μοιάζω 'resemble', συζήτηση 'discussion', ὁλόγυρα 'around'. Third, those continuous in form but modified in meaning, e.g. παραμονή 'vigil before a feast', λάθος 'mistake', σοβαρός 'serious', περιορίζω 'define'. And lastly, those modified both in form and in meaning, e.g. ἄνοιξη 'spring', σηκώνω 'lift up', ψωμί 'bread'.

The next major segment of the vocabulary consists of medieval or early modern neologisms formed from earlier existing roots or stems by derivation or composition, e.g. παίρνω 'take' (< ἐπαίρνω < ἐπαίρω), μαζεύω 'gather' (< ὁμαδεύω, influenced by μάζα, μαζώνω), κορίτσι 'girl' (< κόρη + medieval suffix -ιτσι), χαμογελῶ 'smile' (χαμο + γελῶ; χαμο- < χάμω < χάμα < χαμαί by analogy with κάτω, ἔξω etc.), ἀργά 'slowly' (< ἀργός 'idle'), πιστοποίηση 'guarantee' (< πίστις + ποιῶ).

A further segment consists of classical or Hellenistic words reintroduced to the spoken tongue via the purist katharevousa, either with unchanged or with slightly modified meaning, but almost certainly not in continuous use throughout the middle ages, e.g. διάστημα 'space', πρόεδρος 'chairman', αὐτοκίνητο 'automobile', ἀερίζω 'ventilate', ἐντύπωση 'impression'.

Needless to say, these may be modified where necessary in accordance with demotic phonology and morphology. But internal borrowings are frequently not adapted to the phonology of demotic, as will become clear in the discussion of the relation between the different states of the language today.

The next segment – and it is a very large and 'open-ended' one – consists of new words formed in modern Greek by derivation or composition from classical or Koine Greek elements. Some of these appear to have arisen in the first place in the spoken language, others in the katharevousa. They readily pass from katharevousa to demotic, and occasionally in the opposite direction, usually with the necessary adjustments of form. Examples are γραφεῖον 'office', ἐξαιρετικός 'exceptional', ἐνδιαφέρον 'interest', γλωσσολόγος 'linguist', πεζοδρόμιο 'pavement', πανεπιστήμιο

'university', ἐκτόξευσις 'blast-off',[31] διαστημόπλοιο 'spaceship' (a calque[32] from the English word), θερμοσυσσωρευτής 'storage-heater', ἀποπυρηνικοποίηση 'denuclearisation'.

Akin to these entirely Greek formations, and once they have become current, not distinguished from them by native speakers, is the segment consisting of international words, formed in Western Europe from Greek elements, and adopted, with the necessary morphological adjustments, into Greek, e.g. ἀτμό-σφαιρα 'atmosphere', μηχανισμός 'mechanism', φωτογραφία 'photography', κοσμοναύτης 'cosmonaut'.

Side by side with these there is a large segment of words formed in modern Greek from Greek elements as calques of foreign words or expressions; the model is most usually French. Examples are ὑπερφυσικός 'supernatural', ἐθνικιστής 'nationalist', ἐκτελεστικός 'executive', ἀκαλαισθησία 'bad taste', νευρικότητα 'irritability', πραγματοποιῶ 'realise', σκηνοθεσία 'mise en scène', ψυχραιμία 'sang-froid', προσωπικό 'personnel', διαστημόπλοιο 'space-ship'. There is no clear line to be drawn between this segment of the vocabulary and that discussed two paragraphs earlier. French, and to a lesser extent English, were widely known in educated circles in Greece in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and they inevitably served as models in the sense that they suggested what vocabulary elements were missing in Greek. But there is clearly a difference in the degree of correspondence between foreign model and Greek equivalent; between, say, ἐκτόξευσις (< τοξεύω 'to shoot an arrow', AGr τόξον 'bow') and διαστημόπ-λοιο, which enables us to classify the former as an independent creation from Greek elements and the latter as a mechanical calque of the English 'spaceship'.

The next category is that of loan-words from foreign languages which have been adapted to Greek phonological and morphological requirements. Many of these are felt by native speakers to be Greek words, and all can readily be used without conflicting with the structural patterns of the language. Lexical borrowing has

[31] Being a word coined by journalists, it generally appears in its purist form ἐκτόξευσις, but the demotic form ἐκτόξευση is met with. On this point see the later discussion on pp. 112.

[32] Calques are words formed from native elements but modelled upon words in another language, to which they are felt to be equivalent; thus German *Fernsprecher* is a calque of the Greco-international *telephone*, English *epoch-making* of German *epochemachend*.

been going on in Greek for a very long time; indeed the Linear B texts of the second millennium B.C. and the Homeric poems contain many loan-words from pre-Hellenic languages. But we are here concerned with loan-words in post-classical Greek. The earliest stratum is that of Latin loan-words, such as σπίτι 'house', πόρτα 'door', κουβεντιάζω 'converse'. The next large segment consists of Italian loan-words, which may in their turn be classified according to the dialect from which they were borrowed. Examples are γκρίζος 'grey', καρέκλα 'chair', μπράτσο 'arm', σιγάρο 'cigarette', φουρτούνα 'storm', φουστάνι 'woman's dress'. There is a considerable segment of Turkish loan-words, such as μενεξές 'violet', καφές 'coffee'[33], ταβατούρι 'disturbance, chaos', τσιμπούκι 'pipe'. But a great many of the Turkish loan-words current in the middle of the nineteenth century have now ceased to be current, and indeed many of them are now quite unknown to Greek speakers. The last main segment of 'assimilated' loanwords is that from French, Italian and English, usually of quite recent date, e.g. αρριβίστας 'arriviste', πορτραίτο 'portrait', προλετάριος 'proletarian', τορπιλλίζω 'torpedo'. In addition to these large segments of loan-words, there are smaller numbers from Iranian in the middle ages, from South Slavonic, e.g. ντόμπρος 'kind', σίτα 'sieve', σανός 'hay', βουρκόλακας 'werewolf, vampire', or Albanian, e.g. λουλούδι 'flower', in the later middle ages or in early modern times, and from Russian and other languages in the most recent period.[34]

Among the loan-words of modern demotic we must count also those classical or Koine words and expressions preserved in the purist katharevousa, and borrowed thence into demotic. They usually retain their katharevousa phonology and morphology. Examples are ἀμείλικτος 'implacable', λευκός 'white', οἶκος 'house',[35] συγκεχυμένος 'confused', συγκεκριμένος 'concrete',

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[33] It is interesting to note how, after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in July 1974, when Greco-Turkish relations at all levels became strained, Τουρκικός καφές 'Turkish coffee' became Ἑλληνικὸς καφές 'Greek coffee', by substitution of one Greek word for another while leaving the Turkish loan-word, for which there is no Greek equivalent, unchanged.

[34] On Slavonic loan-words, which are sometimes confined to particular dialects, cf. Meyer (1894); Triantaphyllides (1963) 299 ff.; Irmscher (1978); Weithmann (1978) 166–70.

[35] NB ὁ Λευκὸς Οἶκος is the White House in Washington, ἄσπρο σπίτι is any white house. A striking parallel is provided by two tenth-century texts, one of which (Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De administrando imperio*, written in un-

ἀδιαφορῶ 'am indifferent', συνεχῶς 'continuously', πράγματι 'in fact', τοὐναντίον 'on the contrary'. Many writers of demotic, and certain rather pompous speakers of it, extend this category of loan-words by using classical or Koine words preserved in katharevousa, even when there is a perfectly good demotic synonym available. There may be two versions of the same stock phrase, one with katharevousa phonology, morphology, and syntax, the other demotic: thus 'in any case' may be ἐν πάσῃ περιπτώσει or σὲ κάθε περίπτωση.

There is another class of loan-word, which is not adapted to modern Greek phonological or morphological patterns, either katharevousa or demotic. These words tend to enjoy rather a short vogue, and then either to pass out of use or to be fitted into Greek patterns. Examples are παστέλ 'pastel', τζάζ 'jazz', μπάρ 'bar', χιουμόρ 'humour', σπόρ 'sport', νίκελ 'nickel'. As an example of the mode of adaptation of these loan-words, it is interesting to note that derivatives, of morphologically regular pattern, are often formed, e.g. from νίκελ we have νικέλινος 'nickel' adj., νικελώνω 'to nickel-plate', νικέλωμα 'nickel-plate', νικέλωση 'process of nickel-plating', and that the form νικέλιο is now found side by side with the unassimilated νίκελ.

The last segment of the vocabulary consists of dialect words used for special effect. Certain writers, such as Kazantzakis, make very extensive use of these internal borrowings, some of which thereby become permanent elements of the vocabulary of common demotic.

This analysis of the sources of the vocabulary applies in particular to modern common demotic Greek. But a similar analysis of the vocabulary of the living language at other periods would reveal a similar complexity, even if all the categories of present-day Greek were not present. The vocabulary of Greek at all periods is extremely rich, and this richness depends in part on the possibility of using elements belonging to earlier states of the language, which always remain accessible, and which may have special emotional overtones attached to them.[36] There is also a good deal of poly-

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pretentious language) translates Sarkel, the name of the Chazar city on the river Don, by ἄσπρον ὀσπήτιον, while the other (the more classicising *Theophanes Continuatus*) gives as an equivalent λευκὸν οἴκημα. Cf. *DAI* 42.24, *Theoph. Cont.* 2.229.

[36] The most recent general studies of the vocabulary of modern Greek are Mirambel (1959) 337–450, and van Dijk-Wittop Koning (1963).

semy, in that the same word may be used with several different meanings which originally belonged to it in different states of the language. Only the context, both linguistic and extra-linguistic, determines the particular meaning. For instance, σκαλλίζω means not only 'sculpt, engrave', but also preserves its earlier meanings 'dig up' and 'investigate', the last depending on a metaphorical use in the Septuagint version of Psalm 76.6 (μετὰ τῆς καρδίας μου ἠδολέσχουν, καὶ ἔσκαλλεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, 'I communed with mine own heart, and my spirit made diligent search'); σύνταξη, in addition to its inherited meanings of 'arrangement' and 'syntax', also means 'pension'; ἀπαντῶ, of which the classical and Koine meaning is 'meet', and the commonest meaning in demotic 'answer', is listed in the 'Ιστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς with nine current demotic meanings. It is no doubt this polysemy and its attendant vagueness of meaning which underlies the very frequent use of pairs of synonyms linked by καί in medieval and early modern literature.

2 Greek in the Hellenistic world and the Roman empire

The starting-point for any history of medieval and modern Greek must be the κοινὴ διάλεκτος or common Greek of the Hellenistic world. This form of the language was from the first the vehicle of communication at all levels in the new Greek cities which were founded between the Aegean coast of Asia Minor and the plains of the Punjab, from the Syr-Darya in the North to the island of Sokotra in the South. In old Greece it rapidly became the official language of administration and more slowly ousted the old dialects as a general means of communication. At the same time it became the universal language of prose literature, apart from certain highly self-conscious groups which retained a special linguistic form of their own, e.g. the doctors who wrote in the Ionic of the Hippocratic corpus, and the Pythagorean philosophers who wrote in the Doric of Southern Italy. Poetry continued to be written in the traditional linguistic forms, though these were more and more affected by the κοινὴ διάλεκτος.

Koine Greek came into being suddenly, in response to a sudden and radical transformation of the Near Eastern world, whereby Greek became the language of culture, and in some cases the mother-tongue, of men and societies over a vast area. There are no precise parallels for such a rapid and dramatic extension of a language. Both the expansion of Arabic after the great conquests of Islam and the development of English into a world language took place in different circumstances and against quite different backgrounds.[1]

The origin of the κοινὴ διάλεκτος is really irrelevant to the history of later Greek. In the past it was the subject of much discussion. Today many of the points earlier in dispute are now clear. I shall confine myself to reproducing the generally accepted view on the origin of the Koine, and then go on to describe it,

[1] Cf. Meillet (1935) 241 ff.; Thumb (1901); Radermacher (1947); Costas (1936); Debrunner and Scherer (1969); Frösén (1974); Palmer (1980).

emphasising in particular the changes which can be detected in the course of its development.

In the areas which had long been of Greek speech there was in the fourth century B.C. no linguistic unity. Each city state used for official business its own dialect, which was also the normal means of intercourse between its citizens. The dialects were mutually comprehensible without difficulty, and most Greeks must have been used to hearing dialects other than their own spoken. There was not one but several literary languages – epic poetry was written in the complex 'Kunstsprache' of the Homeric tradition, whose roots probably go back to the Mycenean world, although in its developed form its features were predominantly Ionic; lyric poetry was written in a Doricising Greek which embodied features not found together in any living dialect; and so on. The use of these literary languages was determined by the literary genre, and not by the native dialect of the writer. Prose literature, which was later in developing than poetry, had been written in a variety of dialects – in Ionic by most writers of the early and middle fifth century, an Ionic which was based on the standard language of intercourse among the cities of Asia Minor, rather than on the dialect of any particular city, in a sort of common Doric by many writers of Sicily and South Italy, and so on. But by the end of the fifth century Attic was more and more being used even by non-Athenians as a vehicle of literary prose. It is typical that the speeches of Gorgias of Leontini, an Ionian city in eastern Sicily, which he delivered as models of rhetoric in various cities of Greece in the closing decades of the fifth century, seem to have been in Attic.

The political power and intellectual prestige of Athens led to the increasing use of Attic as a lingua franca of common intercourse in Greece. Athenian officials visited or resided in a great many cities round the Aegean. Athenian colonists were settled in a number of points in the region. Citizens of cities subject to Athens had to an increasing extent to submit their disputes to the jurisdiction of Athenian courts. At a humbler social level, many thousands of non-Athenians served as rowers in the Athenian fleet. The Peiraeus was the great entrepôt of eastern Mediterranean trade, and both there and in Athens itself a large community of non-Athenians from all parts of the Greek world was established. In these and other ways the knowledge and use of Attic spread in the last third of the fifth century. The military defeat of Athens in 404

B.C. did not affect the social and economic pressures which worked
in favour of Attic. However, the Attic thus extensively used out-
side of Attica was itself modified. Contemporary writers speak of
the adoption of words from many other dialects in the cosmopol-
itan society of Athens–Peiraeus in the late fifth century, cf. Ps.-
Xenophon, *Ath. Pol.* 2.8: 'By hearing every dialect they have
adopted something from the one and something from the other;
and whereas the Hellenes have each people its own dialect and way
of life and costume, the Athenians use a mixed form, with elements
borrowed from both Hellenes and barbarians.' The admixture
must in fact have been mainly Ionic, and have operated at all
levels, from phonetics, e.g. -σσ- for Attic -ττ-, to vocabulary. At
the same time writers, even those of Athenian birth, who counted
on a pan-Hellenic readership, themselves avoided some of the
more specific features of Attic, and gave their language an Ionic
tinge. For instance Thucydides, writing for the whole Greek
world, replaces Attic -ττ- by Ionic (and to some extent common
Hellenic) -σσ-, -ρρ- by -ρσ- and so on, while the author of the
polemical treatise on the Constitution of Athens erroneously attri-
buted by the manuscript tradition to Xenophon, writing a political
pamphlet for Athenian readers, uses the Attic forms. The dialogue
of Attic tragedy, too, was written in a language which, while
basically Attic, displayed many Ionic and in particular Homeric
features of phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. In
this it differed sharply from the dialogue of comedy, which used
relatively pure Attic, except of course when it was parodying
tragedy. These two factors, working at different levels, resulted in
the 'expanded Attic' which was the common language of much of
Greece in the fourth century, being significantly different from the
pure dialect spoken by Attic peasants.

In the fourth century, Attic, whether in its pure or its 'expanded'
form, was the normal language of literary prose. Not only
Athenians like Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes and Plato
wrote in Attic, but men from other parts of Greece, whose native
dialects differed both from Attic and from one another: Aeneas of
Stymphalos, Aristotle of Stageira, Deinarchus of Corinth,
Theophrastus of Eresus in Lesbos, Ephorus of Kyme in Asia
Minor, Theopompus of Chios, Anaximenes of Lampsacus, and
others.

Thus, when in the middle of the fourth century Philip II of
Macedonia determined to elevate his backward tribal kingdom to

the status of a great power, he found Attic in wide use throughout
the Greek world, including at any rate the cities of Macedonia, and
thus adopted it as the official language of Macedonian diplomacy
and administration. His son Alexander carried Macedonian
power as far as Egypt, the Pamirs and the river Jumna. Attic, in its
'expanded' international form became the official language and
the language of everyday intercourse of the multitude of Greek
cities founded in the conquered territories by Alexander and his
successors, cities whose inhabitants usually came from many dif-
ferent regions of Greece. This modified Attic – called by gram-
marians ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος, the common language – thus became
the mother-tongue of the new Greek communities in Egypt, Syria,
Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and the Iranian world, and gradually
ousted the old dialects in Greece proper; this point will be exam-
ined later. It also became the language of prose literature, with
certain minor exceptions, throughout the Greek world. It was a
linguistic form which was no longer rooted in the speech of a
particular region.

Our knowledge of the Koine depends on:

(1) literary texts composed in it, such as the Histories of
Polybius and Diodorus of Sicily, the Discourses of Epictetus;

(2) the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures made in
Alexandria in the third century B.C., the Septuagint;

(3) the New Testament and certain other early Christian
writings;

(4) a mass of letters and other documents surviving on papyrus
in Egypt, and dating from the end of the fourth century B.C. to the
eighth century A.D.;

(5) the observations of grammarians.[2]

The literary texts show a fairly standardised language, no doubt
the medium of formal intercourse among educated men. The
Septuagint, being a close translation of a sacred text, embodies
many Hebraisms, and is composed in a language much closer to
common speech than the literary texts. The New Testament, being
written in the main by men without a literary education – and
some of its books probably having been originally composed in
Aramaic[3] – approximates closely to the language of everyday

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[2] Humbert (1930) 21–25.
[3] Black (1954).

speech. In the past there was a great deal of discussion of the linguistic form of the N.T. Many scholars believed it to be written in a special variety of Greek in use among the Jewish communities of the Near East and sought in this an explanation of the divergences between its language and that of the literary texts. A parallel which may have been present to the mind of some scholars would be the Judeo-Spanish of the Sephardic communities, which differs in many respects from the Spanish of Spain. The evidence provided in the last 85 years by the innumerable letters and documents on papyrus has proved that this is not so, but that the language of the N.T. is a close reflection of the spoken Koine of the Greek world at the time of its composition.[4] Among the literary texts there are several – the Discourses of Epictetus are the prime example – which have many points of contact linguistically with the N.T., being composed in a less carefully standardised language than the bulk of Koine prose literature. The observations of grammarians are mostly by-products of an archaising movement which sought to restore ancient Attic as the language of literature and polite intercourse, a movement of which we shall speak later. The words and forms which they warn their pupils not to use are the Koine words and forms.

The Koine did not remain static, but was in process of continuous development. There were no doubt also local differences within it. The geographer Strabo (8.1.2) speaks of local differences in pronunciation within the Greek world. These would probably be most marked in the old areas of Greek settlement, where the old dialects were slow to disappear, and less marked in the vast areas of new settlement, where there was no dialect substratum. But as far as our evidence goes, the Koine was remarkably uniform throughout its area of use. The English of North America rather than that of England, the Spanish of Central and South America rather than that of Spain, are appropriate modern parallels.

Changes in the language are often difficult to date with precision. The literate tended to maintain in use words and forms which were being replaced in the speech of the mass of the people, and all our evidence comes from the literate. Phonological changes in particular are masked by the historical orthography, and can

[4] On the language of the N.T. and its position in the spectrum of post-classical Greek cf. Moulton (1908); Tabachovitz (1956); Blass–Debrunner (1961); Rydbeck (1967).

often only be detected through spelling mistakes in letters and documents on papyrus. In the following paragraphs the main features which distinguished the early Koine from the Attic of classical literature will first be described, and then an account will be given of the principal changes detectable in the course of the centuries between Alexander the Great and Justinian.

PHONOLOGY

The Koine regularly avoids the specifically Attic -ττ- (from guttural plosive + ι̯), and substitutes the Ionic, and generally pan-Hellenic -σσ-. Thus θάλασσα 'sea', γλῶσσα 'tongue', ὀρύσσω 'dig' not θάλαττα, γλῶττα, ὀρύττω. It is not clear to what phonetic difference this orthographic distinction corresponds. Attic words, for which there is no precise cognate in Ionic or other dialects, often appear in Koine with Attic -ττ-, e.g. ἥττων, ἡττάομαι 'am defeated', ἥττημα 'defeat' (N.T. 2 *Pet.* ii. 19, 20; *Rom.* ix. 12; 1 *Cor.* vi. 7) – the Ionic form was ἕσσων, ἑσσόομαι (in 2 *Cor.* xii. 13 the reading of the majority of the MSS is ἡσσώθητε, but ancient variants ἡττήθητε and ἐλαττώθητε indicate the uneasiness which copyists felt in the presence of this Ionic but non-Koine form); by analogy ἐλάττων 'lesser' and κρείττων 'greater' sometimes appear in place of the commoner ἐλάσσων and κρείσσων. Similarly, Attic -ρρ- was rejected in favour of Ionic and pan-Hellenic -ρσ-, thus ἄρσην 'male', θάρσος 'courage', not ἄρρην, θάρρος: but πόρρω 'further', because there is no corresponding Ionic form *πόρσω. Attic went further than most Greek dialects in contracting two vowels in contact within a word. Koine often prefers to follow the Ionic pattern, thus ἐδέετο 'needed', ἐπλέετο 'sailed' rather than ἐδεῖτο, ἐπλεῖτο.

Thus far the orthography reflects phonological change. But in the early centuries of the Koine a much more important process of phonological change was going on, which is only betrayed by errors in spelling in papyrus documents, Greek loan-words in other languages, foreign loan-words in Greek, and the evidence of spoken Greek today. The vowel system and the consonant system were alike restructured during this period, and the prosodic pattern of the language was reorganised on a new basis. It is difficult to date any of these changes with precision: one can only note the first sign of frequent use of each which happens to be preserved. In any case what is important is not the individual phonetic change,

but the phonological, structural change. And it is likely that for a long period the old and the new patterns existed side by side, either in the same community or even on the lips of the same speaker. Still less can we determine where these changes began. They seem, however, to have spread rapidly over the whole area of Greek speech.

(1) *Vowels*

Attic in the fifth century B.C. had a complex and unstable vowel system, itself in process of change. To the five short vowels a e i o ü there corresponded seven long vowels ā ẹ ę̄ ī ọ ǭ ǖ. The original short diphthongs ai oi üi au eu were still pronounced as true diphthongs; ei and ou had fallen together with ẹ and ọ. The long diphthongs āi ẹi, ọi, āu ẹu seem still to have been pronounced as diphthongs.[5] By the end of the second century B.C. this system had been simplified and stabilised. The five short vowels remained unchanged. Of the long vowels ẹ and ī coincided by the third century (in some dialects, e.g. Boeotian, this change took place earlier; we find confusion of *ει* and *ι* in inscriptions in the fifth century), and a century later ę̄ and ī began to coincide, though the process seems to have taken a long time to complete. Similarly ọ became narrowed to u (a phonetic rather than a phonological change). The diphthongs were restructured too. Original ei and ou had already become monophthongs in classical Attic (ẹ and ọ), and ai oi followed them in early Hellenistic, becoming e and ü by the second century B.C. In au, eu and the corresponding long diphthongs, the second element became a spirant -av, -ev, -iv. In the long diphthongs āi, ẹi, ọi the second element disappeared altogether: Strabo, writing at the end of the first century B.C., remarks that many no longer write the second vowel in these diphthongs, and the evidence of the papyri confirms his observation (Strabo 14.1.41, p. 648). The development of -üi is uncertain: its diphthongal character is often emphasised by spellings such as *üï-*, *υει-*, and attested by grammarians, but this may be due to learned influence. By the fourth century A.D. it had certainly coincided with ü.[6]

At the same time as these changes were taking place, the pro-

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[5] On the phonology of Attic and the changes introduced in the development of Koine cf. Lupaş (1972), Sommerstein (1973), Teodorsson (1974), (1978).

[6] On the phonology of Koine Greek cf. Teodorsson (1977), Gignac (1976).

sodical pattern of the language was changing. Distinctions of vowel length were ceasing to be phonologically significant, and stress was replacing raised pitch as the distinguishing mark of the accented syllable of a word. This change is not at all easy to detect. But by the end of the third or early second century B.C. confusion between o and ω begins to occur in letters, and a little later we find grammarians giving elaborate rules for the length of vowels – which suggests that their pupils were no longer observing distinctions of length in practice.

The outcome of these changes was to replace the complex vowel system of Attic by a more stable system of six vowels a e i o u ü, with no true diphthongs, which can best be arranged in a triangular pattern:[7]

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & a & \\ o & & e \\ u & ü & i \end{array}$$
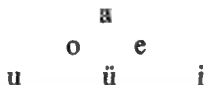
This is an unusual and not entirely stable system, but it does occur in several languages today.

(2) *Consonants*

At the same time a rearrangement of the consonant system was taking place. Classical Attic – and so far as we can tell other Greek dialects of the same period – had three classes of plosives, unvoiced, voiced, and aspirated: p b pʰ, t d tʰ, k g kʰ, plus the sonants l r m n, the fricative s (z is merely a combinatory variant of s in ancient Greek, as opposed to modern Greek), and the affricate dz; ks and ps are best treated as combinations of phonemes, and are so written in many local varieties of the Greek alphabet. In the Hellenistic period this pattern is changed. Both voiced plosives and aspirated plosives become spirants, voiced and unvoiced respectively. Thus instead of p b pʰ we get p v f, instead of t d tʰ, t ð θ, instead of k g kʰ, k ğ x. There has been a change in the order of three articulatory processes – cut-off of air stream, obstruction of air stream, and tension of vocal chords. In the dental and velar series these changes are hardly attested by the orthography. The evidence consists largely in the transcription of loan-words, and in the state of affairs in modern Greek. In the labial series we have ample evidence in the form of such errors of spelling as κατεσκέ-

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[7] Trubetzkoy (1939).

βασαν for κατεσκεύασαν 'installed', ῥαῦδος for ῥάβδος 'staff' etc.
from the first century B.C. Though any attempt to give a precise
date is misleading, it is safe to say that this restructuring of the
consonant system was complete by the second century A.D. The
triangular consonant system

$$\begin{matrix} & p & \\ f & & v \end{matrix}$$

is an unusual one, and it is natural to ask whether b, d, g really
existed in late Koine Greek, giving a rectangular consonant system

$$\begin{matrix} p & f \\ b & v \end{matrix}$$

Numerous loan-words, particularly those from Latin, contained
b, d and g; and they may have arisen as combinatory variants, as
they do in modern Greek. But the question of the phonemic status
of b, d, g is still not settled in regard to modern Greek, so we can
scarcely be expected to answer it for late Koine. The evidence of
the Coptic alphabet, in which the Greek letters with their con-
ventional pronunciation were supplemented by a series of new
letters for phonemes existing in late Egyptian but not in Koine
Greek, ought to throw light on this and other problems of post-
classical Greek phonology. But Coptic orthography is itself very
variable, there were radical differences between the dialects of
Coptic which we cannot always grasp, and in any case we do not
really know how Coptic was pronounced in antiquity: the tradi-
tional pronunciation of the Coptic church today may be mislead-
ing. In particular the pronunciation of ϙ φ χ as voiceless aspirates
probably reflects Egyptian rather than post-Ptolemaic Greek
phonology.[8]

The sonants l m n r remained unchanged. With the pronunci-
ation of ζ as z, a new phonemic opposition between s and z arose.
Whether the medieval and modern Greek affricate pair ts, dz
existed in late Koine is not clear: and in any case their phonemic
status in modern Greek is still a matter of dispute.

This radical restructuring of the phonology of the language

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[8] Worrell (1934); Till (1961). A detailed discussion of the problems of Coptic
phonology is given by Vergote (1973) 12–83. Certain dialects of modern Greek,
including Tsakonian, make a phonematic distinction between aspirated and un-
aspirated *p t ts k*, but this is a secondary development arising from combinatory
variants.

took place largely without anyone noticing it. Yet its effects upon the structure of the language at other levels were wide-ranging and profound, as will be seen.

MORPHOLOGY

From its earliest period the Koine avoided certain morphological patterns of Attic. The dual was given up in nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. Certain anomalous substantives were replaced by synonyms; this was particularly the case with monosyllabic substantives, in which the distinction between stem and termination was not as clear as was usual in Greek. Thus:

ναῦς, νηός or νεώς was replaced by πλοῖον (the only word for
    'ship' in the N.T., though ναῦς occurs in the Septuagint)
οἶς, οἰός 'sheep'   was replaced by πρόβατον

ἀρήν, ἀρνός 'lamb'	,,	ἀμνός, ἀμνοῦ
ὗς, ὑός 'pig'	,,	χοῖρος
ὕδωρ, ὕδατος 'water'	,,	νηρόν (νεαρόν)
κλείς, κλειδός 'key'	,,	κλειδίον
οὖς, ὠτός 'ear'	,,	ὠτίον

The Attic forms νεώς, νεῶ 'temple', λεώς, λεῶ 'people' were replaced by the Panhellenic forms ναός, λαός. κέρας, κέρως 'horn' and κρέας, κρέως 'meat' were replaced by κέρας, κέρατος and κρέας, κρέατος. There was much analogical tidying up of adjectives, especially those in which the pattern of declension was complicated by the effects of Attic vowel contraction. So for ὑγιής, ὑγιᾶ 'healthy' we find ὑγιής, ὑγιῆ, for ἐνδεής, ἐνδεᾶ, 'lacking', ἐνδεής, ἐνδεῆ.

Anomalous comparative and superlative forms were more and more replaced by forms in -τερος, -τατος. Thus ταχύτερος replaced θάσσων 'quicker' and ταχύτατος τάχιστος 'quickest': but this process was never completely carried out in Koine, and many anomalous comparatives remained in use.

Athematic verbs were to some extent replaced by thematic, thus δεικνύω replaced δείκνυμι 'show': but ἵημι, ἵστημι, τίθημι and δίδωμι remained in full use. The anomalous paradigm οἶδα, οἶσθα, οἶδε, ἴσμεν, ἴστε, ἴσασι 'know' was replaced by οἶδα, οἶδας, οἶδε, οἴδαμεν, οἴδατε, οἴδασι. ἦν, ἦσθα, ἦν 'was' tended to be replaced by ἤμην, ἦσο, ἦτο, but this process never extended to the standardised literary Koine. Weak aorist endings from the beginning

tended to replace those of the strong aorist – εἶπα, εἶπας 'said' is already found in Attic. But this process was only slowly carried through completely, and is not fully reflected in literary Koine: ἔφθασα 'anticipated, arrived' (already in Thucydides and Xenophon) and ἀνέγνωσα 'read' (not till third century B.C.) replace ἔφθην and ἀνέγνων, but ἦλθα 'went', ἔλαβα 'got' were 'vulgarisms' (ἦλθα not till first century B.C.; ἔλαβα weakly attested in New Testament manuscripts, common in post-Ptolemaic papyri). At the same time there was mutual interaction between the imperfect indicative and the weak aorist indicative: ἔγραψες 'wrote' and ἔγραφας are both found as analogical formations: ἔγραφαν replaces ἔγραφον in the 3rd plural, etc. -σαν, itself in origin an Attic innovation in athematic aorists such as ἔθεσαν for ἔθεν, is rapidly extended to the 3rd plural of all secondary indicative tenses, leading to forms like ἐγράφοσαν 'wrote', ἦλθοσαν 'went', ἠξιοῦσαν 'requested' etc. Middle futures of active verbs are early replaced by active forms, thus ἀκούσω (Hyperides, Lycurgus), ὀμόσω (probably not before Plutarch) replace ἀκούσομαι 'will hear', ὀμοῦμαι 'will swear'. This is part of a general reorganisation of the original three voices, active, middle and passive as two. So middle aorists tend to be replaced by passive: ἀπεκρίθην (Macho, Ps.-Plato, *Alcibiades*, Polybius) replaces ἀπεκρινάμην 'answered', less frequently ἐγενήθην (Philemon) replaces ἐγενόμην 'became'.

DEVELOPMENT OF KOINE

These features of the early Koine, most of which can be paralleled in Attic or other early dialects, and which were largely established by the time the N.T. texts were written, were only the beginning of a more radical restructuring of the verb system which we can trace in subliterary texts of the Roman and early Byzantine period. This was partly occasioned by the phonological changes described in an earlier paragraph, which resulted in λέγομεν and λέγωμεν (pres. indic. and pres. subj.), λύσει and λύσῃ (fut. indic. and aor. subj.) and many other pairs of forms coinciding. But apart from phonological considerations, there were also structural pressures at work. In ancient Greek differences of aspect and differences of tense did not necessarily coincide; in the Koine they tended more and more to do so. And the distinctions of aspect, which in ancient Greek were many-dimensional, tended in the Koine to be reduced to a single pair of polar opposites. Whatever be the relative impor-

tance attributed to the factors, the result by late antiquity was a drastic reorganisation of the verb system.

The main features of this reorganisation, some of which have been alluded to in the earlier part of this chapter, are:

(1) The reduction of the three voices of classical Greek to two. Although many of the uses of the middle voice survived in Koine – and even in modern Greek – from the morphological point of view the distinction between middle and passive is eliminated.

(2) The fusion of perfect and aorist. Perfect forms continue to appear in late Koine texts, but they are used side by side with and in equivalence to aorist forms. It is sometimes hard to tell whether one is dealing with an aorist in -κα or with an irregularly reduplicated perfect.[9] In medieval Greek, as we shall see, the confusion becomes complete. The perfect forms are 'desystematised', the first step in their elimination. This is the completion of a process, the first stages of which can already be observed in classical Greek.[10]

(3) The optative disappears as a separate category, except in a few fossilised usages, which are becoming lexical rather than grammatical. This is hardly a result of phonetic changes, as optative forms of thematic verbs remained phonetically distinct from indicative/subjunctive forms until at least the tenth century. The functions of the optative are taken over by the subjunctive and by various periphrastic constructions.[11]

(4) Athematic verbs in -μι are replaced by thematic forms in -ω. The end result of this is to leave only two types of present, those in -ω and those in -ῶ: distinctions within the latter type are in process of elimination. The most tenacious of the -μι verbs is εἰμί: but even

[9] Cf. Mayser (1923) 145, Mandilaras (1973) § 307, Gignac (1981) 243–4.

[10] Cf. Chantraine (1927); Mihevc (1959). For false reduplications cf. ἐχρεώστηται (Malalas), ἐποιήκατε (Malalas), κεκτισμένος (Malalas), ῥερυπωμένην (Moschos). Frequent 3rd persons plural perfect in -αν are a further indication of the confusion of perfect and aorist, e.g. πέπραχαν (Malalas): to these correspond the 3rd persons plural aorist in -ασι, such as διεθήκασι (Moschos). Many dialects of modern Greek regularly form aorists in -κ-. Cf. Kontosopoulos (1981) passim.

[11] The recent controversy regarding the place of the optative in literary Greek of the period, which some scholars believed to reflect the usage of contemporary spoken Greek, has now largely died down. The optative of literary Greek in this period was maintained in use by literary and grammatical tradition, not by living usage: hence its uncertainty and imprecision. Most of the literature, and all the valid arguments, regarding this controversy, will be found in Henry (1943), Higgins (1945) and Anlauf (1960).

εἰμί tends to be replaced by a middle form εἶμαι, and the anomalous ἐστί, εἰσί by forms based on ἔνι, which was originally not a verbal form at all. On this see p. 66. However, some of the forms seem to have remained in living usage side by side with their surrogates in -ω or -ῶ until the end of the period under discussion; e.g. John Moschos still makes large use of ἵημι, ἵστημι, τίθημι, δίδωμι.

(5) The present subjunctive coincides formally with the present indicative. The coincidence in pronunciation of λύεις and λύῃς, λύει and λύῃ, λύομεν and λύωμεν leads to the substitution of λύετε for λύητε and λύουσι for λύωσι. The aorist subjunctive, which undergoes the same changes, often coincides with the future indicative. However, the subjunctive remains functionally distinct from the indicative, since they can never both occur in the same context.

(6) The future tense, though continuing to survive in living speech, and maintained by the literary tradition, tends more and more to be replaced by a series of periphrases, which are discussed below, pp. 33, 79. In so far as these involve the infinitive, a distinction of aspect begins to arise within the future tense, according to whether the present or the aorist infinitive is used. This decay of the future is only in part explicable on phonetic grounds, e.g. by the coincidence of future indicative and aorist subjunctive in many verbs. The main factor is the restructuring of the verb system on the basis of two aspects and two only, each with its own distinct theme. The old future did not fit into this new system, and was hence more and more replaced in living speech by forms which did.[12]

(7) Sigmatic aorists more and more replace the non-sigmatic aorists of classical Greek, e.g. ἔνειμα 'distributed' is replaced by ἐνέμησα.

(8) Certain simplifications of the personal endings of verbal forms take place, of which the principal are the spread of -σαν in the third person plural of imperfects and aorists, and the replace-

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[12] Throughout late Koine and medieval Greek a number of rival patterns for the expression of futurity coexist. It is not until the modern period that a single future pattern, capable of expressing the two aspects of the Greek verb, emerges (demotic θά + subjunctive and corresponding forms in the dialects, e.g. ἐννά + subjunctive). In some dialects of Asia Minor there is still a structural imbalance, in so far as distinctions of aspect are not expressed in the future. On the disappearance of the ancient future and its replacements in Koine, medieval and modern Greek cf. Bănescu (1915); Mirambel (1966) 187–8; Pernot (1946); Joseph (1978).

ment of *-ov* by *-ε* in the aorist imperative (not in Pontic). The personal endings of imperfect and second aorist on the one hand and those of first aorist on the other were more and more frequently confused, leading in Byzantine and modern Greek to the amalgamation of the two inflectional patterns.[13]

Side by side with these changes, and in part determined by them, there appear a series of periphrastic verb forms, mostly formed with the verbs εἰμί 'am' and ἔχω 'have' together with infinitives or participles. These provide replacements for old forms which have been 'desystematised', such as the future, and facilitate the expression of the dual aspect system of late Koine. These do not form a well-organised system in the period under discussion. Alternative patterns are found coexisting, and there is a great deal of uncertainty and imprecision. The main patterns of periphrastic conjugation which appear in late Koine are:

(1) εἰμί (ἦν) + present participle active, competing with present and imperfect indicative. This construction occurs occasionally in classical Greek, but becomes much more frequent in the Koine. Desire to emphasise the notion of continuity is probably the main motivating factor. But the opposition between continuous and momentary action is one of those expressed by the distinction between present and aorist theme in late Koine, medieval and modern Greek. So the periphrasis with the present participle never succeeds in replacing the present and imperfect indicative in Koine Greek. However, the construction continues in use during the medieval period as an alternative expression of continuity, and only disappears when the present participle is lost. In Tsakonian, in contradistinction to common Greek, the participial periphrasis did replace the present and imperfect indicative form. In that dialect we have as present indicative:

> ἔμι ὁροῦ 'I see'
> ἔσι ,,
> ἔνι ,,   etc.

as imperfect indicative:

> ἔμα ὁροῦ 'I saw'
> ἔσα ,,
> ἔκη ,,   etc.

[13] Cf. Mandilaras (1973) §§ 277–83, 317–21; Gignac (1981) 335–45, 353.

while the corresponding subjunctive form is not periphrastic.[14] Occasionally εἰμί + aorist participle is found as a continuous present in late Koine texts. This is indicative of the beginning of the breakdown of the system of participles which took place in the following period.

(2) εἰμί + perfect participle active replaces the missing perfect, and expresses present state resulting from past action, e.g. εἰμί τεθαρρηκώς 'I am confident'. The same function is often performed by εἰμί + aorist participle, the aorist and perfect forms being considered equivalents. Common in classical Greek in subjunctive and optative, this periphrasis is extended by Koine to the indicative, but never becomes really common. The aorist participle is commoner than the perfect, and the auxiliary verb is most often imperfect, i.e. the periphrasis is a pluperfect substitute.

(3) εἰμί + perfect participle passive, or less frequently aorist participle passive, similarly replaces the medio-passive perfect.

(4) ἔχω + an active participle – usually aorist – furnishes another perfect-equivalent in transitive verbs, e.g. ἔχω τελευτήσας 'I have completed'. This pattern is rare in late Koine and hardly occurs at all in medieval Greek.

(5) A similar function is performed by ἔχω + perfect participle passive. This unclassical periphrasis occurs only occasionally in Koine and is not frequent in Byzantine writers. Its period of greatest extension is probably in early modern Greek, cf. p. 94.

(6) ἔχω + infinitive, on the other hand, is a future-equivalent extremely common in late texts which reflect the spoken Greek of the time. The infinitive is most often aorist, but the present is also found. Less frequently εἶχον (εἶχα) + infinitive is found serving as a potential or conditional form, replacing the optative + ἄν of classical Greek.[15] Whether there is any connection between this construction and the construction of *habeo* + infinitive which gave rise to the future form in most Romance languages is an open question. One of the problems is that the surviving Balkan Romance

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[14] On the periphrasis with εἰμί and the present participle cf. Björck (1940): on this and other periphrastic verbal forms with εἰμί and ἔχω in ancient, medieval and modern Greek cf. Aerts (1965).

[15] On this very frequent periphrasis in late Koine and early medieval Greek cf. Dieterich (1898) 246; Jannaris (1897) 553–5; Chatzidakis (1905) ι, 602; Psaltes (1913) 216–17; Mihevc-Gabrovec (1960). The earliest examples seem to belong to the sixth century A.D. On future periphrases in Balkan Latin cf. Mihăescu (1978) 253.

languages and dialects form their future from *volo* + infinitive. But they are not attested before a relatively recent date.

(7) Another future-equivalent, originally with a somewhat different nuance – will as opposed to obligation – is provided by *θέλω* + infinitive, which does not become frequent until the next period.[16]

(8) A further group of future-equivalents is provided by *ὀφείλω* 'owe' + infinitive, *μέλλω* 'am about to, intend' + infinitive, *ἔσομαι* + present participle (cf. (1) above) and *ἵνα* + subjunctive. There are corresponding conditional periphrases formed by *ὤφειλον* (*ὤφειλα*) + infinitive and *ἔμελλον* + infinitive. These are less frequent and less systematised than those with *ἔχω* and *θέλω*.

(9) *συμβαίνει* 'it happens' + infinitive, *εὑρίσκομαι* 'I find myself' + present participle etc. provide further quasi-modal verbal periphrases. The development of so many periphrastic verbal forms, most of which did not survive into later Byzantine Greek, let alone into modern Greek, is a symptom of the radical restructuring of the verbal system which was taking place in the late Roman period.

What emerges from all this is that the late Koine verb has only two themes, corresponding to two opposed aspects.[16a] All other aspectual distinctions are expressed by periphrases. It has two voices, active and medio-passive, and two moods, which in the case of the present theme are morphologically distinct only in the 2nd person (*-ητε; -ετε*) and 3rd person plural (*-ωσι; -ουσι*), and even there the distinction tends to be eliminated.[17] The present theme forms a present and past indicative, a subjunctive and an imperative, the aorist theme forms a past indicative, a subjunctive and an imperative. Futurity is either expressed by the context, or by one or other of a series of periphrases, and the distinction of aspect begins to penetrate the future. The old perfect has been replaced by a series of periphrases, and its forms, where they survive, function as aorists or as elements in clichés such as formulae of signature. The system of non-personal verbal forms, the infinitives and participles, is preserved with little change, except that future infinitives and participles virtually vanish, and perfect infinitives

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[16] On the development of the *θέλω* construction cf. Joseph (1978) 117–56, 222–30.

[16a] On aspect in Modern Greek cf. Comrie (1976), especially 95–7.

[17] Cf. Mandilaras (1973) § 533–4, Gignac (1981) 358–9.

and participles become rare, and are generally equivalent to the corresponding aorist forms.

It is very hard to date any of these changes, owing to the nature of our evidence, and the inevitable contamination of any written text by the purist language. In any case many of them are only extensions of features already existing in classical Greek. What is important is not this or that individual innovation, but the new system. And, as always in language, old and new systems existed side by side in living speech for a long time, until the distinctive features of the old became 'desystematised' and thus condemned to disappear – except in so far as in Greek the prestige of the traditional purist language of writing and fine speech conferred upon some of them a factitious, zombie-like life.

An example of the actual state of the language is provided by the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschos.[18] Influences of the literary tradition and above all of the New Testament are present, but on the whole this text is fairly representative of the spoken Greek of the sixth century of our era. This is the position regarding the expression of futurity.

There are only fifty-five true future forms. The usual form for the expression of futurity is the present indicative, the next most frequent the aorist subjunctive, both active and passive – an example of both forms together is κοιμηθῶ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τρώγει με 'I shall lie down in the path of the lion and he will eat me' (2960 C). The occasional optatives expressing futurity are due to the feeling that the optative is a 'refined' equivalent of the subjunctive. In addition the following types of periphrasis are found: ἔσομαι + present participle, μέλλω + present or aorist infinitive, θέλω + aorist infinitive, ἔχω + aorist infinitive, ἔξομαι + aorist infinitive, ὀφείλων + aorist infinitive = future participle. This state of affairs indicates the instability of the structure of the language, which was complicated but not fundamentally modified by the existence of an archaising written language enjoying great prestige.

Another striking example is provided by the use of the optative in the New Testament. There are only forty-one examples in main clauses (more or less, since the existence of variant readings complicates the situation). Of these, thirty-eight are wishing optatives

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[18] Unfortunately there is no reliable text of the *Spiritual Meadow*. A critical edition is in preparation by Dr Philip Pattenden.

(all but one in the third person) and fifteen of these are instances of the cliché μὴ γένοιτο 'may it not be', which still survives as a lexical item in modern Greek; the remaining three are potential optatives with ἄν. There are eleven optatives in subordinate clauses introduced by εἰ, of which four are indirect questions; there are probably no final optatives; there are a few indirect optatives in indirect questions – sometimes accompanied by ἄν – but none in indirect statements. The regular conditional construction εἰ + opt., followed by opt. + ἄν, does not occur in the N.T. writers, though they were familiar with certain of its uses through their contact with the literary tradition, and preserved some 'desystematised' optatives in phrases which were becoming lexical units rather than syntactic constructions.

In the sphere of nominal syntax, the most striking change in the period under discussion is the beginning of the elimination of the dative case. The Greek dative case fulfilled the role not only of the Indo-European dative, but also those of the locative and the instrumental. This multiplicity of significances led to ambiguity, and in classical Greek alternating patterns began to emerge – διά + genitive in the instrumental sense, etc. In Koine Greek this process was carried much further. The locative use of ἐν + dative was replaced by εἰς + accusative, in accordance with the Greek tendency to confuse motion towards and rest in something. By the first century A.D. the process was well advanced, and a choice existed between the two modes of expression, as the following parallel passages in the Gospels demonstrate:

Mark	*Matthew*	*Luke*
xiii.16	xxiv.18	xvii.31
ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω	ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω	ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ ὁμοίως μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω
xiii.9	x.17	
παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε	καὶ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς	
i.12	iv.1	iv.1
καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει εἰς τὴν ἔρημον	τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος	ἤγετο ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

As the last example shows, one of the signs of the growing confusion is the erroneous use of ἐν + dative of motion towards. Later Vulgar texts of the period under discussion more and more frequently use εἰς + accusative of rest, which was evidently the usage of the spoken language.

The instrumental use of the dative was replaced by a series of constructions, all of which turn up occasionally in classical Greek. The first was ἐν + dative, the next διά + genitive, which appear to have been the common usage of later spoken Koine, as evidenced by non-literary papyri, and finally from the fourth century on μετά + genitive. By the tenth century, to glance ahead a moment, all prepositions governed the accusative case, and μετά + accusative first makes its appearance in an instrumental sense alongside of μετά + genitive in *Theophanes Continuatus* (174.6) and in the *De administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (25.23, 29.4, 30.75, etc.). The modern Greek μὲ + accusative is the descendant of this construction.

The dative form survived longest in the sense of the pure dative – indirect object or person interested. But we find first the accusative, and later the genitive, of personal pronouns replacing the dative from the first century B.C. on in non-literary papyri, in such phrases as γράφομαί σε 'I write to you' (81 B.C.), ἀποστελῶ σε 'I send to you' (1 B.C.), σὲ δίδω 'I give you' (late fourth century), πέμψον με τὸ πλοῖον 'send me the boat' (late fifth century), καθὼς εἶπες με 'as you told me' (sixth to seventh century), δώσω σου 'I shall give you' (46 B.C.), ἔπεμψά σου 'I sent to you' (346), εἴρηκά σου 'I told you' (end of fourth century), ἀγόρασόν μου 'buy for me' (second century). This construction spreads to substantives in the early centuries of our era, as is evidenced by such phrases as these in papyrus letters: ἔδωκα οὖν Μαξίμου 'I gave to Maximus' (*c.* 340), παράσχον Θεοδώρου 'furnish to Theodore' (seventh century), and by the use of dative and genitive forms side by side in papyri and inscriptions; e.g. Ἑλένη Πετεχῶντος τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν 'Helen to her brother Petechôs greetings' (third century), τῷ γλυκυτάτω μου ἀνδρὶ Πολυχρονίου 'to my dearest husband Polychronios', ἀνέστησα ἐμαυτῷ καὶ Εἴας τῆς συμβίου 'I set up [this] to myself and to Eia my wife', Δόξα πατρὶ καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος 'glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost'. It is not until the ninth or tenth century that we find clear cases of substitution of genitive or accusative for dative proper in literary texts, as we shall see in the next chapter. Modern Greek is divided in its usage. The

northern dialects use the accusative, the southern dialects, which form the basis of common demotic, the genitive.

Thus we see that during the period under discussion the dative forms of noun, pronoun and adjective ceased to have a clear function in the structure of the language, became used more and more erratically, and were probably maintained in the consciousness of speakers mainly by the influence of the purist language. In the subsequent period, they disappeared from living use.[19]

During the period under review a development of the noun declension pattern took place which cannot be explained on phonetic grounds. Various analogical influences have been suggested, but the explanation still remains uncertain. Neuter substantives in -ιον and -ίον lost their final vowel, and came to end in -ιν and -ίν. Examples are common in inscriptions and papyri from the second century on, e.g. ἐνόρμιν 'mooring' (A.D. 115), ἡμιλίτριν 'half-pound' (A.D. 265), φυλακτήριν 'amulet' (A.D. 149), ἐπαύλιν 'shelter', ἐπιστόλιν 'letter', ζωίδιν 'beast', πεπόνιν 'melon', πιττάκιν 'tablet'.[20] They did not in the Koine drive out the longer forms, but were alternatives to them. At the same time masculine proper names in -ιος similarly lost their final vowel. Ἀντώνιος becoming Ἀντώνις and so on. This caused these nouns to pass over to the class in -ης, -ην, -η, itself the result of a conflation of a- stem nouns in -ης like Χαρμίδης and consonant-stem nouns like Ἀριστοτέλης, which had begun in classical times. There is little sign of a similar change in common nouns or adjectives in -ιος.

KOINE VOCABULARY

The vocabulary was extended during the Koine period by derivation and by borrowing. Certain suffixes, including new suffixes first appearing in post-classical Greek, became extremely productive. These include:

(a) Agent nouns
   -της
   -εύς
   -εύτης, -ευτής

[19] On the disappearance of the dative and its substitutes cf. Humbert (1930); Mihevc-Gabrovec (1960) 20–4; Jannaris (1897) 341–7.

[20] Cf. Mayser (1923) 15–16; Gignac (1981) 25–8.

-άριος (of Latin origin)

-ᾶς

-τρια

-ισσα

(b) Verbal abstracts

-σις

-σία (which tends to replace -σις in later Koine)

-μός

-μα

(The original semantic distinctions between these tend to be eliminated.)

(c) Abstract nouns of quality

-ία

-ότης

(d) Nouns of place

-εών

-τήριον

(e) Nouns of instrument

-άριον (of Latin origin)

-τρον

(f) Diminutives

-ιον

-ίδιον

-άριον

(g) Adjectives of material

-ινος

(h) Adjectives of quality

-ικός

-ιος (the last three tend to become semantically equivalent)

(i) Verbal adjectives

-τός

-σιμος

(j) Miscellaneous Adjectives

-ιανός (of Latin origin)

(k) Verbs

-έω

-όω

-εύω

-άζω

-ίζω

At the same time some derivational suffixes which are productive in classical Greek and early Koine, cease to be productive in later Koine, e.g. -τήρ, -αινα, -σύνη (which again becomes productive in Modern Greek), -θρον, -θρα, -τρα, -οῦς, -ύνω. It will be noted that among the productive suffixes are some of Latin origin. Speakers who were familiar with these in Latin loanwords used them to form derivatives from Greek stems. Thus we find μηχανάριος, προβολάριος, ἀχυράριος, προθηκάριος, γραφιάριον, στρατιωτάριον, μαγιανός.[21]

The main source of loan-words in the Koine of the Roman empire was Latin. Military and administrative terms were adopted in large numbers, as well as names of measures, trade objects and artefacts of western origin. These Latin loan-words entered Greek via the spoken language or the sub-literary written language of quartermasters' stores, tax-collectors' offices and merchants' counting-houses. They were, with a very few exceptions, eschewed by literary Greek of the period. It is significant that St Luke, who has rather more literary pretensions than the other Synoptics, often replaces a Latin loan-word in their text by a Greek equivalent, e.g. for κεντυρίων 'centurion' he writes ἑκατοντάρχης, for κῆνσος 'census', φόρος; for μόδιος 'bushel', σκεῦος; for κοδράντης 'farthing', λεπτόν; for τίτλος 'title', ἐπιγραφή. The great majority of these Latin loan-words are substantives or adjectives, e.g. ἀκτουάριος, βενεφικιάριος, λανάριος, κοδράντης, τροῦλλα, φορμαλεία, τρακτευτής, κλάσση, κουστωδία, βρακαρία (itself derived from a Keltic loan-word in Latin, *bracae* 'trousers'), ὀσπίτιον, μανούβριον, κολλήγιον, ἀρμάριον, κιβάριον, βαλανάριον, λωρήκιον (formed with Greek diminutive suffix from Latin *lorica*), δησέρτωρ, κουράτωρ, κοντουβερνάλιος, ὀφικιάλιος, πραιτώριος, καγκελλωτός, δηπουτᾶτος, πλουμαριᾶτος, καρτιανός, μαγιστριανός.

Many of these words remained as living elements of the Greek language long after there had ceased to be any significant Greco-Latin bilingualism. The fact that Greek derivational suffixes are attached to Latin stems, e.g. πορτᾶς, παστιλλᾶς, ἐξπελλευτής, and that certain Latin suffixes were used to form derivatives from Greek stems, shows that these loan-words were not felt to be alien elements in the spoken language, though they were avoided by the literary language.

It is to be noted that there are very few verbs among the Latin

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[21] On productive and unproductive suffixes in Koine cf. Palmer (1945) 6–18.

loan-words. Greek finds it difficult to borrow verbs, because a Greek verb requires two themes – and in Koine it might still require a perfect theme as well. Hence any borrowed verb has to be made to fit into a pattern of complementary themes. This can only be done by giving it one of a group of productive verbal suffixes, e.g. -ίζω, -εύω. But these were felt to be characteristic of denominative verbs, hence they could not readily be used to adapt Latin verbs to the needs of Greek morphology. So we find Greek verbs formed from Latin nominal stems, e.g. ἀννωνεύω, δηληγατεύω, πραιδεύω, στατιωνίζω, but few at this period formed from Latin verbal stems. Among the rare exceptions are ἀπλικεύω, βιγλεύω, and ῥογεύω, the two latter in due course giving rise to the deverbative nouns βίγλα and ῥόγα.

Latin nouns and adjectives could generally be fitted into Greek declension patterns without difficulty. But we find a number of analogical modifications taking place. Changes of gender are common, e.g. *limes* > λίμιτον, *expeditus* > ἐξπέδιτον (analogy of στρατόπεδον?), *denarius* > δηνάριον, *camisia* > καμίσιον. And the gender of a loan-word is sometimes uncertain, e.g. κανδηλάβρα and κανδήλαβρον, κούκουμος and κουκούμιον, λῶρις, λῶρον and λώριον, μάκελλος, μακέλλη and μάκελλον, μεμβράνα and μέμβρανον. The tendency to replace masculines and feminines by neuter diminutives is common to inherited Greek words and to Latin loan-words. There are often analogical changes of suffix, e.g. *patronus* > πατρών, *cohors* > κόρτη, *magister* > μαγίστωρ, *fabrica* > φάβρικα, φαβρική, φάβριξ. Occasionally hybrid Greco-Latin forms are found, due to popular etymologising, e.g. κλεισοῦρα (defile) from *clausura*+κλείω, συμψέλιον from *subsellium*+σύν.[22]

As a result both of its development of its own resources by derivation and composition, and of its capacity to absorb loan-words, mainly from Latin, and to build upon them by derivation and composition, the vocabulary of Koine Greek is extraordinarily large. Arguments from silence prove nothing in such matters. But an examination of a few pages of an ancient Greek lexicon, e.g. that of Liddell – Scott – Jones, will show that the majority of the words there recorded were first attested in the period under review. The vocabulary of Greek, then as in the

[22] On Latin loan-words cf. Viscidi (1944); Triantaphyllides (1909); Magie (1905); Cameron (1931); Zilliacus (1935).

middle ages, and to a slightly less extent today, was open-ended, in that new derivatives and compounds were freely formed as the occasion required.[23]

As well as the creation or borrowing of new words Greek augmented its lexical resources by attaching new meanings to old words. The well-established literary tradition ensured that the old meanings survived in use, at any rate among the literate, side by side with the new meanings. Examples of this semantic enrichment are:

ἀνακλίνομαι	'to be leant against something' – 'to recline at table'
ἀντίληψις	'laying hold of, support, defence, claim' – 'mental apprehension'
ἄριστον	'morning meal' – 'meal in general'
διάφορον	'difference, disagreement, balance, expenses' – 'cash, ready money'
δῶμα	'house (poetic)' – 'roof'
ἔξοδος	'expedition, procession', 'way out, end' – 'expenses'
ἐρωτάω	'ask, enquire' – 'beg, entreat'
κηδεία	'connection by marriage' – 'funeral, mourning'[24]
κοίμησις	'sleep' – 'death'
μνημεῖον	'souvenir, memorial' – 'tomb'
ὀψάριον	'delicacy' – 'fish'
παιδεύω	'educate' – 'punish'
παρακαλέω	'summon, invite' – 'comfort, console'
παρρησία	'free speech' – 'confidence'
πτῶμα	'fall' – 'corpse, ruins of a building'
ῥύμη	'impetus, rush, charge' – 'street'[25]
στενοχωρία	'confined space' – 'difficulty, distress'
στόμαχος	'gullet' – 'stomach'
φθάνω	'anticipate' – 'arrive'
χρηματίζω	'negotiate, give response (of an oracle)' – 'be called'

In the field of syntax the period under discussion is one of transition. The distinction between verbal sentence and nominal

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[23] The lists of words in Buck and Petersen (1945) are revealing of the freedom with which vocabulary was extended in this period, though many of the statements regarding the first attestation of a word are in need of revision.

[24] Constantine in a letter uses κηδέστρια in the sense 'mother-in-law' (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.52). The earliest meaning of κῆδος and its derivatives seems to have been 'care as manifested in action'.

[25] Perhaps the sense 'street' derives from that of 'furrow', attested in ῥυμοτομέω. The primary meaning seems to be 'flow, watercourse'.

sentence was maintained throughout Greek from Homer to the present day. The non-personal verbal forms, infinitive and participle, were still preserved, though alternatives appeared to most of the constructions in which they were used.[26] In particular ἵνα + subjunctive appears as an alternative to most uses of the infinitive other than that in indirect speech. The accentual rhythm of some of the *Hymns* of Romanos (sixth century) indicates that in its purely subordinating capacity, as a mere marker for the subjunctive, which was often morphologically indistinguishable from the indicative, ἵνα was beginning to be pronounced ἱνά – the ancestor of the modern Greek subjunctive marker νά.[27] As the system of three moods – indicative, subjunctive and optative – which classical Greek had inherited from Indo-European was replaced by a dual system of two moods, indicative and subjunctive, a great many of the distinctions which the classical language made in the syntax of the complex sentence became impossible. This is reflected in the literary language of the period – even in that which seeks to imitate Attic – by a looseness in modal usage. Subjunctives and optatives are used side by side in similar contexts, indicatives appear in situations which in classical Greek required the subjunctive or optative, and so on. In particular it is clear that the difference between generic and particular relative and temporal clauses was no longer made; ὅταν, ἐπειδάν etc. are used from now on with the indicative. With the loss of the potential optative a new series of periphrastic constructions appears, in which the imperfect of an auxiliary verb – ἔχω or μέλλω or θέλω or ὀφείλω – is followed by the infinitive. The negatives οὐ and μή are more and more used in such a way that οὐ negatives indicatives, μή all other moods. Parataxis with καί is often substituted for hypotaxis: e.g. *Τί μοι παρέχεις καὶ παρέχω σοι τίποτε τὰ μέγιστα σοῦ εὐεργετοῦν* 'what will you give me that I should give you something of the greatest benefit to you' (John Moschos).[28]

[26] Indeed many sub-literary texts make a very extensive but rather slapdash use of the infinitive, which, though it was losing its place in the system of the language, was available to speakers for a variety of purposes. In particular the substantival infinitive used with the article provides an alternative for various types of subordinate clause which speakers and writers were no longer sure of forming correctly and unambiguously. Cf. Weierholt (1963) 38–53; Joseph (1978) 10–52.

[27] Trypanis (1960).

[28] On this consecutive or final use of καί cf. Ljungvik (1932) 39–64; Tabachovitz (1943) 8–10; Van Dijk-Wittop Koning (1972).

THE ATTICIST MOVEMENT AND ITS AFTERMATH

Towards the end of the first century B.C. we find teachers of grammar and rhetoric preaching a new doctrine – that language must not be allowed to change and develop, since all change is decadence, and that the only 'correct' Greek is that used by classical Attic writers, and the Koine, both as the common spoken language of all classes and in its literary form, must be rejected as a product of ignorance, debasement and vulgarity. In the ensuing two centuries this movement gathered weight and influence, came to dominate the teaching of Greek in schools, and greatly influenced all literary prose, leading to a conscious imitation of ancient linguistic patterns, real or imagined, and a deliberate rejection of the living and developing language as a vehicle of formal speech and literature. It was in this way that a beginning was made of the diglossy which has been so marked a feature of Greek throughout its subsequent history.

The causes were probably many, operating at different levels of consciousness. We are not in a position today, unfortunately, to determine to which of them the enormous success of this purist movement was due. Among the main factors must be counted:

(1) The growing discrepancy between contemporary living speech and the language of the literary texts upon which education was based. As the development of Koine Greek proceeded this created an ever more pressing problem for teachers.

(2) Teachers of rhetoric, in reacting against a flowery and ornate style current in the first century B.C., urged closer imitation of classical models. Imitation of their style soon brought with it imitation of their linguistic patterns. This occurs particularly easily in Greek, in which the linguistic form used is largely a function of the situation, i.e. in works of literature a function of the literary genre.

(3) Reaction to Roman domination led, particularly after the Mithridatic War and Sulla's regime of repression in Greece and Asia Minor, to a new nostalgic harking back to the great days of Greek freedom. Teachers of rhetoric handled almost exclusively themes from the period between the Persian Wars and Alexander the Great, and turned their backs on their own age. Classical writers were the only models worthy of imitation; if only men spoke and wrote like their great forebears they might somehow recreate the lost glory of Greece.

(4) A society sharply divided into classes needs status symbols. English readers need hardly be reminded of the role which language can play in indicating a speaker's class position. So in the ancient world the living developing speech of the common people, who had no literary education, was despised by those wealthy enough to have had one, and who found in the distinction between their purist speech and that of the masses just the kind of symbol they sought.

(5) It may be that the first signs of a new dialect differentiation were appearing in Koine, though there is very little direct evidence of this.

We find a body of didactic literature growing up, prescribing what one must and must not say, at all levels from phonology to syntax. The prescriptions are usually particular, not general, in the form: 'Say A, not B'. Obsolete words were resuscitated from literary texts, and the Koine replacements anathematised as 'incorrect', 'vulgar', 'shocking'. Obsolete inflections were given preference over those in every-day use, obsolete Attic forms like the dual and the so-called Attic declension were given a fresh though factitious lease of life, obsolete meanings were declared to be the only correct ones. A distinction is often drawn between 'Attic' and 'Hellenic' usage, the former referring to the obsolete words or forms found in classical prose texts, the latter to post-classical Koine forms in living use. Occasionally more complex classifications are attempted.

The use of the 'Attic' words and forms became a mark of culture and of literary acceptability. The criterion of correct usage was whether a word or form is attested in a limited body of literary texts composed five centuries earlier. Ancient authority replaced spontaneity. There is a character in Athenaeus's *Deipnosophists* nicknamed Κειτούκειτος, because his invariable question when any new object or topic is introduced is to enquire if the name of it is attested in the corpus of classical literature or not – κεῖται ἢ οὐ κεῖται. The normal relation of spoken and written language became reversed. Speech was to follow writing.

As direct evidence of the tenets of the Atticists we have a number of lexica laying down correct usage, and fragments from many other works of this kind incorporated in commentaries on classical texts. As indirect evidence we have the practice of writers.

No prose literature of the first century A.D. was unaffected by the

Atticist movement.[29] In a society in which education was wide-spread, and in which it was education and way of life rather than racial origin which made a Greek a Greek, it could not be other-wise. But there were variations in degree and quality of influence. Professional rhetoricians like Herodes Atticus, the Philostrati, Aelian, Aelius Aristides and Dio Chrysostom try to avoid scru-pulously Koine words and forms, and scatter Attic expressions, culled from lexica, over their pages in the vain attempt to produce a pastiche of the language and style of half a millennium earlier. Lucian is a careful Atticist, although he mocks the excesses of his more pedantic contemporaries in his *Lexiphanes* and his *Rhetorum praeceptor*. Writers who have much to say, such as Plutarch and Galen, observe many of the general precepts of the Atticists, but avoid slavish imitation in detail of ancient models and are ready to draw on the spoken language of their own day, especially in the matter of vocabulary. Galen has some interesting observations on matters of language. He condemns 'the practitioners of false learn-ing' for calling by the term $ῥάφανος$ – used by the Athenians 600 years earlier – a vegetable which all Greeks now call $κράμβη$ 'cabbage'.[30] He mocks at the fussy Atticists, who call a bodyguard $κοιτωνήτης$ instead of $σωματοφύλαξ$.[31] In a long defence of his own language and style against a critic he says that he uses the so-called 'common dialect' ($κοινὴ\ διάλεκτος$). This, be it a variety of Attic or not, certainly includes elements from other dialects: he asks his critic to maintain this dialect in its purity and not to contaminate it with Cilician, Syrian, Galatian – or Athenian – borrowings. He adds that he had learnt a particularly pure Greek from his father.[32] Whatever we are to make of this outburst, it is evidence of the difficulty which men felt in choosing the correct linguistic form for public or formal utterances. The young Marcus Aurelius, writing in Greek to his mother, asks her to excuse him for any incorrect or barbarous or unapproved or un-Attic word which he may have carelessly used.[33] The same Marcus Aurelius in the philosophical diary which he kept as emperor, is no longer

[29] On the language and style of Greek prose writers influenced by the Atticist movement, the standard work is still Schmid (1887–1897), reprinted 1966; cf. also Triantaphyllides (1937). Bowie (1970) is illuminating on the social and cultural background of Atticism. Reardon (1971) provides a detailed and perceptive study of the ways in which Atticism manifested itself in literature.

[30] Galen vi 633.4 K.

[31] Galen xiv 624.17 K.

[32] Galen viii 581–588 K.

[33] M. Aurelius ap. Fronto *ep.* p. 22.16–20 van den Hout.

concerned with such trivialities, but writes in literary Koine – the *Meditations* were not written for publication – and the Stoic philosophers of the Roman empire in general despised the preoccupations of rhetoricians.

In view of the conscious effort which Atticism called for, it is not surprising that Atticising writers continuously fail in their purpose. Either they admit Koine forms censured by the grammarians – this is too common to call for illustration – or they overcompensate and produce false Atticisms, hypercorrect forms which never existed in classical Attic. The literature of this period is full of middle voices where Attic uses in fact the active, of wrongly used datives, e.g. of duration of time, of optatives in conditional clauses introduced by ἐάν or in final clauses in primary sequence. At the level of morphology we find such monstrosities as ῥίν for ῥίς 'nose', on the analogy of the genitive ῥινός, συνεωρτάζομεν 'we celebrated together' with a false Attic augment after the pattern of ἑώρακα, ἀγγελῆναι for ἀγγελθῆναι, aorists passive in -ην being felt to be more refined than those in -θην, ἑλῶ as future of αἱρέω, οἰσάμενος as aorist participle on the analogy of the future οἴσομαι, φυήσομαι from φύω, presumably on the analogy of ῥυήσομαι, στενάζειε, with an aorist optative termination attached to a present stem, ὤρυγε for ὤρυξε, and so on. These men were attempting to write in a language which they knew imperfectly and they made blunders right and left. This has been one of the marks of Greek diglossy ever since.

To show the way in which the Atticists consciously rejected the living speech of their time, let us put side by side some well-known passages from the Gospels – which on the whole represent the spoken Greek of the first century A.D. remarkably well – with certain observations of the Atticist lexicographer Phrynichus (second half of the second century). It is to be borne in mind that Phrynichus is not commenting on the New Testament, which he had probably never heard of, but on the 'errors' made by his own pupils in literary composition.

New Testament	*Phrynichus*
1. Πάτερ εὐχαριστῶ σοι. John xi. 41	Εὐχαριστεῖν οὐδεὶς τῶν δοκίμων εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ χάριν εἰδέναι. *Ecloga* 10
2. Ἄρον τὸν κράββατόν σου καὶ περιπάτει. Mark ii. 9	Σκίμπους λέγε, ἀλλὰ μὴ κράββατος. *Ecloga* 41³⁴

³⁴ When bishop Triphyllios of Ledra, a learned man and author of a commentary on the *Song of Solomon*, during a service substituted σκίμπους for

3. Εὐκολώτερόν ἐστι κάμηλον διὰ τρυπήματος ῥαφίδος διελθεῖν. Mat. xix. 24

Βελόνη καὶ βελονοπώλης ἀρχαῖα, ἡ δὲ ῥαφὶς τί ἐστιν οὐκ ἄν τις γνοίη. *Ecloga* 63

4. Κρούσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θύραν. Acts xii. 3

Κροῦσαι τὴν θύραν ἴσως μέν που παραβεβίασται ἡ χρῆσις· ἄμεινον δὲ τὸ κόπτειν τὴν θύραν. *Ecloga* 148

5. Ὁμοία ἐστὶν βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως. Mat. xiii. 31

Σίναπι οὐ λεκτέον, νᾶπυ δέ. *Ecloga* 252

6. Βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. Mat. v. 45

Βρέχει ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕει ... παντελῶς ἀποδοκιμαστέον τοὔνομα. *Ecloga* 255

7. Ἐκάμμυσαν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Mat. xiii. 5

Καμμύει· τοσαύτη κακοδαιμονία περί τινάς ἐστι τῆς βαρβαρίας, ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ Ἄλεξις κέχρηται τῷ καμμύειν ἡμελημένως ἐσχάτως, αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς οὕτω λέγειν, δέον ὡς οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων καταμύειν. *Ecloga* 316

8. Τὸ θυγάτριόν μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει. Mark v. 23

Ἐσχάτως ἔχει ἐπὶ τοῦ μοχθηρῶς ἔχει καὶ σφαλερῶς τάττουσιν οἱ σύρφακες. *Ecloga* 369

9. Μακάριος ὅστις φάγεται ἄριστον. Luke xiv. 15

Φάγομαι βάρβαρον. λέγε οὖν ἔδομαι καὶ κατέδομαι· τοῦτο γὰρ Ἀττικόν. *Ecloga* 300

10. Ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον. Mat. xxv. 46

Ἀπελεύσομαι παντάπασι φυλάττου· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ δόκιμοι ῥήτορες, οὔτε ἡ ἀρχαία κωμῳδία, οὔτε Πλάτων κέχρηται τῇ φωνῇ· ἀντὶ δ' αὐτοῦ τῷ ἄπειμι χρῶ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοειδέσιν ὡσαύτως. *Ecloga* 24

11. Ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός. Mat. xxv. 21

Ἧς ἐν ἀγορᾷ σόλοικον. λέγε οὖν ἦσθα. *Ecloga* 118

12. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποταξάμενος ἐξέπλει. Acts xviii. 21

Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι ἔκφυλον πάνυ. χρὴ λέγειν ἀσπάζομαί σε· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι εὑρίσκονται λέγοντες ἐπειδὰν ἀπαλλάττωνται ἀλλήλων. *Ecloga* 14

13. Ἐδέετο δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνήρ. Luke viii. 38

Ἐδέετο, ἐπλέετο. Ἰακὰ ταῦτα· ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ συνήθεια συναιρει, ἐδεῖτο, ἐπλεῖτο, ἐρρεῖτο. *Ecloga* 340

κράββατος in the Gospel passage 'Take up thy bed and walk', his Cypriot colleague St Spyridon of Trimithus, who had taken part in the Council of Nicaea, rebuked him with the words. 'Are you so much better than Him who said κράββατος that you are ashamed to use His words? (Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccles.* 1.11).

The New Testament, we have seen, was written substantially in the spoken Greek of the time, though with varying degrees of literary pretension – Luke often 'corrects' what he finds in Mark, the Pauline epistles are more literary than the Gospels, the Apocalypse has so many linguistic anomalies and oddities that it seems likely that its author's knowledge of Greek was imperfect. The Christian writers of the earliest period, the so-called Apostolic Fathers, on the whole followed the N.T. model, and wrote as they spoke, with no regard for the precepts of pagan grammarians and rhetoricians, whom they despised. The *Shepherd* of Hermas is a monument of spoken Koine, as is also the *Didache*: Clement of Rome has occasional literary pretensions; the N.T. Apocrypha are largely written in the vulgar Greek of the time, and so on.[35] Some of the early saints' lives are similarly written in the spoken Greek of the time, with more or less strong N.T. influences. This might have become the pattern of Christian Greek literature, and the diglossy introduced by the Atticists might have been overcome. But Christian writers who aimed to convert cultivated pagans had to write – and presumably preach – in language acceptable to their readers. So we find the Christian apologists from the second century on writing in more or less Atticising Greek, i.e. accepting the fact of diglossy. Clement of Alexandria in the third century, writing both for his fellow-Christians and for the pagan world, uses the Atticising literary Greek of the time, just as he attempts to explain Christian doctrines in terms of Hellenic philosophy. As Christianity, at first largely confined to the lower classes, made headway among the cultivated upper classes of Greek-speaking society, the problem of an acceptable linguistic form became acute. The prestige which the archaising literary tongue enjoyed was enormous; it was the only kind of Greek taught in schools. The use of the spoken tongue on formal occasions was stigmatised as barbarous, and might have provoked embarrassment in the company in which it was used. The N.T., word of God though it might be, was not acceptable as a linguistic model to these new Christians. The church historian Socrates, writing of the emperor Julian's attempt to prevent Christians from teaching in schools, remarks that Holy Writ teaches us marvellous and divine doctrines, but does not teach us the art of literature so that we may answer those who attack the truth (*Hist. Eccles.* 3.16). The great

[35] Cf. Ljungvik (1926); Ghedini (1937).

fourth-century fathers, most of them members of the upper classes
who had received a traditional education, like Basil, Gregory
of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, all unhesitatingly rejected the
spoken language of their time as a vehicle for writing and
preaching, and chose the archaising literary language which was
the lingua franca of the educated classes.[36] There is a story that a
woman once interrupted one of John Chrysostom's sermons to
complain that she could not understand half of what he was
saying, so remote was his language from that of the mass of the
people. The preacher obligingly delivered the rest of his sermon,
we are told, in the vulgar tongue. But he certainly never wrote in
the vulgar tongue.[37] These writers dealt with the charismatic
prestige of the N.T. and the Septuagint by embodying words and
expressions from these texts in their own archaising language like
technical terms or quotations from a foreign tongue, i.e. at a
purely lexical level, while rejecting the morphological and syn-
tactical features of the Greek Bible.

This development sealed the fate of spoken Greek, endowed the
purist language with a new prestige, and perpetuated the diglossy
introduced by schoolmasters four centuries earlier. The language
of the Fathers of the Church became that of almost all subsequent
Greek literature for a thousand years. There was, it is true, an
undercurrent of writing in a linguistic form making greater or
lesser concessions to spoken Greek, but it remained a humble
undercurrent. These texts were often of provincial and even rural
origin, and so less exposed to the social and cultural pressures
which existed in the great cities. They were mostly written by
monks – often the only literate group in rural society – but it is far
from certain that they were written for monks. Read aloud to
laymen, they would both provide spiritual edification and depict
an ideal human type readily acceptable by humble people.[38]

THE DECLINE OF ANCIENT DIALECTS

The spread of the Koine caused the general disappearance of the
ancient dialects, and the new dialects which begin to appear in

[36] Fabricius (1962), (1967).

[37] The story is told by F. W. A. Mullach, *Grammatik der griechischen
Vulgärsprache in historischer Entwicklung*, Berlin, 1856, 68–9. Mullach cites no
source. The same story appears in Cosmas Vestitor's *Life of St. John Chrysostom*
(F. Halkin, *Douze récits byzantins sur S. Jean Chrysostome*, Brussels, 1977, 433) a
text which was still unpublished when Mullach wrote.

[38] Cf. Browning (1981).

the late middle ages are all developments of Koine Greek, occasionally with certain residual influences from the ancient dialects (cf. chapter 7). The detailed history of the decline of the dialects cannot be traced. Our principal source of information is inscriptions. These usually have something of an official character, and they are essentially the products of urban society – peasants do not set up inscribed slabs of stone. For what it is worth, the picture which emerges from a study of the inscriptions is this.[39]

Ionic, being closely akin to Attic and under strong Attic influence from the mid fifth century, was the first to yield to the pressure of Attic and the Attic-based Koine. From the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Attic forms are common in the inscriptions of Ionic cities of Asia Minor, the Cyclades, and Euboea, and by the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C. their inscriptions are all in Koine. The Aeolic-speaking communities held out longer. The inscriptions of Pergamum are written in Koine from the third century, but dialect continued to appear in the inscriptions of Lesbos until the first century B.C.; Thessalian, Boeotian and North-West Greek did not last quite so long. The revival of the Lesbian dialect in certain inscriptions in the second century A.D. is a piece of antiquarianism, and has nothing to do with the spoken tongue. Doric was most tenacious of all; especially in the Peloponnese and in Rhodes. In the late third and early second centuries B.C. the local dialects of the Peloponnese were replaced in official inscriptions by the Doric Koine of the Achaean League, which in its turn was replaced by common Hellenistic Koine after the dissolution of the Achaean League by the Romans in 146. In Rhodes, which was never humiliated by the Romans, many inscriptions are still in more or less consistent dialect in the first century A.D.

So much for the evidence of inscriptions. It is a reasonable supposition that local dialects continued to be spoken in the countryside, albeit in an impure form, long after they had lost prestige among the urban upper classes and ceased to be used in inscriptions. The scanty evidence of contemporary writers supports the view that in some areas a form of speech recognisable as Doric persisted into the second century A.D. Suetonius (*Tib*. 56) indicates that Doric of a sort was generally spoken in Rhodes in the early first century. Strabo (8.1.2) states that all the Peloponnesian communities spoke Doric at the end of the first

century B.C. And Strabo is only interested in cities, not in the countryside. Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 1.54) met an old woman in the Peloponnese who addressed him in Doric, about A.D. 100. And Pausanias (4.27.11) tells us that the Messenians in his day – the middle of the second century – still preserved their dialect.

It seems likely, then, that in Old Greece, and particularly in the less accessible regions of the Peloponnese, dialect speech, or a form of Koine heavily coloured by dialect features, persisted for several centuries into the Christian era. This explains the Doric features found in certain modern Greek dialects, particularly the highly aberrant Tsakonian and South Italian dialects, which seem to have separated off from common Greek some time in the dark ages. Similar conditions in some parts of the interior of Asia Minor may explain the phonetic developments found in the modern Asia Minor dialects. On these matters cf. pp. 124–5 below.

3 *The Greek language in the **early middle** ages (6th century–1100)*

In 634 the city of Bostra, capital of the province of Arabia, fell to the Arabs under Omar. Cities on the desert fringe had been raided before. But this was no raid. A great Byzantine army was defeated on the river Yarmuk in Palestine on 20 August 636, which put the whole of Syria at the mercy of the Arabs. Damascus fell at the end of the same year, and by 638 Antioch and Jerusalem were both captured. In 639 Byzantine Mesopotamia fell to the invaders. In 641 began the invasion of Egypt, the granary of the empire, and Alexandria was taken in 646. In the meantime the Arabs had already occupied Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, and were thrusting deep into Asia Minor. By 654 the Arabs possessed a fleet capable of conducting a devastating raid on Rhodes. In spite of some successful resistance by Constans II (641–668) and Constantine IV (668–685), and a peace treaty between Arabs and Byzantines in 659, Arab pressure continued. Annual Arab expeditions into Asia Minor recommenced in 663, and often penetrated as far as Chalcedon, on the Asiatic shore opposite Constantinople. Meanwhile their fleet attacked and occupied Rhodes, Cos and Chios, and established in Cyprus a kind of condominium with the Byzantines, which enabled the island to remain neutral until the tenth century, when it was brought once again under Byzantine control. In 670 Cyzicus, in the Sea of Marmora, was taken, and in 672 Smyrna fell. In 674 the Arab fleet appeared under the walls of Constantinople, linked up with the army which had marched across Asia Minor, and began a siege which was not raised until 678.[1]

At the same time there were great losses of territory and movements of population in the north and west of the Byzantine empire. In 568 the Lombards burst into Italy, and within a few years the peninsula had become a mosaic of Lombard duchies and Byzantine territory. The Exarchate of Italy, centred on Ravenna,

[1] On the chronology of the Arab conquests and the subsequent Arab campaigns against Byzantium, which is not always clear, cf. Stratos (1972), particularly 53–4, 61, 75, 77, 82, 108; (1975) 17–56; Lilie (1976) 57–142.

remained in Byzantine hands until 752. The Byzantine possessions in southern Italy, which included Rome, gained more and more *de facto* independence as the Byzantines, preoccupied with the struggle against the Arabs and the Bulgars and Slavs, proved unable to defend them against Lombard aggression. In 585 the Byzantine province of Spain was recaptured by the Visigoths. Slavonic peoples from north of the Danube began pressing south into the Balkan peninsula about the middle of the sixth century. By about 580 they were settling in Moesia (present-day Bulgaria) and laying waste great areas of Greece, and a year or two later they began to settle in large numbers there too. Their military effectiveness was increased when many of their tribes became subject to the Avars of Pannonia. Thessalonica was besieged for the first time in 584. By the later 580s the Slavs were in the Peloponnese. A mosaic of little Slavonic principalities covered a large part of the Balkan peninsula, and Byzantine control was limited to a number of coastal cities and strong points, and to the sea: though even there they could not prevent Slavonic expeditions against the Cyclades, Crete, and Southern Italy in the early seventh century.[2] By the end of the century a new power, that of the Bulgars, had established itself in the north-east Balkans, and in the course of the eighth century succeeded in unifying under Bulgar rule most of the Slavonic tribes, apart from those in Thrace and peninsular Greece. As early as 681 the Byzantines were forced to conclude a peace treaty with the Bulgars which was greatly to their long-term disadvantage.

During this period of struggle for existence, which continued until the second half of the eighth century, there were many movements of population, our knowledge of which is limited and scanty.[3] Sweeping administrative changes put an end to the separation of civil and military power and to the autonomy of the cities: in any case many cities sank to the level of agricultural villages. Schools were fewer, the level of education lower. In the eighth century the Iconoclast movement divided the empire on a theological issue which had important political and social overtones. This was a period during which we might expect farreaching changes to take place in the Greek language. Unfortu-

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[2] On the many problems connected with the settlement of the Slavs in Greece cf. Weithmann (1978); Popović (1980).

[3] Charanis (1959).

nately, we have scarcely any direct evidence. Papyri in Greek become less common in the seventh century, and by the middle of the eighth they peter out: in any case the mass of the rural population of Egypt had never been Greek-speaking, or at any rate had not spoken Greek as its first language. Inscriptions are few and far between, and such as exist are jejune epitaphs containing little but proper names: to this there is one important group of exceptions (see below). Little literature was produced during the 'dark age' of the seventh and eighth centuries, and less has survived. We are very much worse placed to trace the evolution of the Greek language than during the period of the Roman empire. It is for this reason, among others, that the period of political breakdown and demographic change is not considered on its own, but as a part of a longer period, during the second half of which we are better off for evidence. But it must be remembered that many of the changes which are first attested in the second half of the period probably occurred during its turbulent first half.

Our knowledge of Greek during the period 600–1100 depends almost entirely upon literary texts. Those composed in the purist literary language tell us nothing that we wish to know, except in so far as occasionally they embody a quotation of informal, living speech. There are however, as there were in the previous period, a certain number of sub-literary texts representing an uneasy balance between the purist ideal and the speech of the people. These include chronicles: the *Paschal Chronicle*, composed shortly after 628, the *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nicephorus of the end of the eighth century, the *Chronography* of Theophanes, composed between 810 and 814, the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, written about 867; saints' lives and other religious texts, such as the *Life of St John the Almsgiver* by Leontios of Neapolis c. 630, the *Life of St Philaretos c.* 800, certain of the works of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (912–959) which are written in 'vulgar' language. In the period under review there is as yet no poetry in the language of the people, or at any rate none was thought worthy of being copied and preserved. But we do have the texts of some of the rhythmical acclamations with which the people greeted – not always in the friendliest of tones – the emperor on formal occasions, in particular in the Hippodrome: these are couched in the spoken tongue.[4] Little in the way of grammatical literature

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[4] Maas (1912).

survives, and such as does survive does not as a rule refer to the spoken language. An important group of inscriptions are the so-called Protobulgarian Inscriptions. These are inscriptions in Greek set up in their territory by the Khans of Bulgaria or by other dignitaries of the Bulgarian state. Though written in Greek – the Turkic language of the Bulgars appears only in one or two inscriptions, written in the Greek alphabet, and the language of their Slavonic subjects, with whom they in the course of time merged, had to wait until the mid-ninth century for an alphabet – these inscriptions are composed by men who had little or no contact with the literary tradition, and who wrote more or less as they spoke. They may have been Greek prisoners; more probably they were Greek inhabitants of the cities in the territories conquered by the Bulgars. Like all documents produced by the semi-literate, the inscriptions have to be used with the utmost caution. Yet they are a valuable testimony to spoken Greek of their time.[5]

Some light is thrown upon the phonology and morphology of spoken Greek by the many loan-words in other languages, such as Arabic, Syriac, Latin, Old Slavonic, Armenian, Georgian, medieval Hebrew, and the less numerous loan-words from these languages in Greek. For instance the Slavonic proper name Čurila from Κύριλλος confirms the hypothesis, made on other grounds, that as late as the ninth century upsilon was still ü and had not become i. But in the main these loan-words throw light on the development of the borrowing languages rather than on that of Greek.

In the sphere of phonology there was little change from the end of the previous period. The six-vowel system, with ü, was simplified to a triangular five-vowel system

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{i} & & \text{u} \\
\text{e} & & \text{o} \\
& \text{a} &
\end{array}
$$
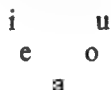
when ü became i. This pronunciation probably began in the late Roman empire. But as late as the tenth century Georgian trans-

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[5] The latest and best edition is by Beševliev (1963) in which the editor discusses at length the evidence which they afford for the Greek language, and gives an exhaustive bibliography of earlier works. A further inscription is published by Beševliev (1971). Useful surveys are provided by Beševliev (1970), (1981).

literations of Greek names and other words consistently represent
υ, *οι* by a different vowel from that used to represent *ι*, *η*, *ει*[6] and it
was still possible to make fun of an ecclesiastical dignitary by
suggesting that he confused the two vowels. The implication is that
the confusion was, in Constantinople at any rate, a mark of vulgar
speech, whereas men of education still strove to keep the vowels
distinct, much as in France today it is only by a conscious effort
that men of education keep distinct the nasalised vowels of *brun*
and *brin*, confused in everyday speech. Two developments in the
pronunciation of consonants which occur frequently but sporadi-
cally in papyri from Egypt became general in the period under
review, and are reflected in literary texts. The first is the simplifi-
cation of double consonants, the second the loss of final -*ν* except
before a following vowel. Some of the dialects of modern Greek
preserve double consonants and final -*ν*. So the change, radiating
from an influential centre, perhaps Constantinople, never spread
over the whole Greek-speaking world, and only its beginnings fall
within this period.

At some time in the early middle ages a phonological change took
place, many of whose effects were masked by analogical influences.
Pretonic initial vowels with the exception of *ά*- disappeared. Thus:

ὀσπήτιον	>	*σπίτι* 'house'
ἡμέρα	>	*μέρα* 'day'
οὐδέν	>	*δέν* 'not'[7]
ἐρωτῶ	>	*ρωτῶ* 'ask'
ὀλίγος	>	*λίγος* 'little'
εὑρίσκω	>	*βρίσκω* 'find'
ὑψηλός	>	*ψηλός* 'high'
ὀψάριον	>	*ψάρι* 'fish'
ὡσάν	>	*σάν* 'as'
ἐκβαίνω	>	*βγαίνω* 'come out'
αἰγίδιον	>	*γίδι* 'goat'
etc.		

These were probably at first allegro-forms, characteristic of
rapid or informal speech, and coexisted with the full forms. The
analogy of forms in which the initial vowel was accented, and
above all the influence of the learned language, caused the vowel to

[6] Cf. Macharadze (1980).

[7] The earliest example of *δέν* 'not' is probably in *POxy* 1874.13, in the sixth
century.

be restored in a great many cases. Thus ἐλευθερία 'freedom' exists today side by side with λευτεριά, and Ἑλλάδα 'Greece' keeps its initial vowel under the influence of Ἕλληνας 'Greek'. Among the effects of this aphaeresis of pretonic initial vowels are:

(1) The development of the enclitic third person pronouns τον, την, το, του, της, τους, τας, των from αὐτόν, αὐτήν etc. The intermediate form ἀτόν occurs in papyri of late antiquity and survives in some Modern Greek dialects.[8] In origin these forms have nothing to do with the definite article.

(2) The disappearance of the temporal augment, except when accented. Thus we have ἔφερα, ἔδωσα, but φέρθηκα, δώθηκα. In some dialects it has been restored analogically.

(3) The development of the demotic forms στόν, στήν, στό, στούς etc. from εἰς τόν, εἰς τήν etc.

(4) The development of certain new demotic verbal prefixes. Thus ἐξυπνῶ > ξυπνῶ 'waken', ἐξέλαβα > ξέλαβα 'took out', ἐξέκοψα > ξέκοψα 'cut out', whence ξεκόβω. From such forms as these the new verbal prefix ξε- was abstracted. Similarly the compound prefix ἐξανα- > ξανα-. ἐμβαίνω > μπαίνω 'enter', ἐκδύνω > γδύνω 'undress'.

This process of aphaeresis is found in all Greek dialects today, including those of southern Italy, where we have *kúo* (ἀκούω 'hear'), *gro* (ὑγρός 'wet'), *kodéspina* (οἰκοδέσποινα 'mistress of the house'), *stéo* (ὀστέον 'bone') etc. But in none did it proceed unhindered by the influences of analogy and of the purist tongue.

In the domain of morphology a number of changes can be traced, though none can be dated with precision. In any case dates are meaningless in such matters, since old and new patterns coexist for a long time in the speech habits of a community. In the noun, the dative case forms passed out of living use finally, surviving only in lexicalised clichés such as δόξα τῷ Θεῷ 'thank God'. Any written text may still contain datives, although alternative forms of expression were available for every usage of the dative.

A wide-ranging rearrangement of noun paradigms took place, in which the distinction between vocalic and consonantal stems, still in full force in late Koine Greek, was surmounted.[9] A complex

[8] Cf. Gignac (1981) 227.

[9] The distinction between nouns in -ᾱ (-η) and those in ᾰ had begun to break down in late antiquity, but was not fully given up until the early middle ages. Cf. Gignac (1981) 4–11.

interplay of analogies was involved, but the course of events can be summarised thus: vowel-stem substantives, which were very numerous, now made use of the distinction -ς, -ν, -∅ in the singular: masculines had nominative in -ς, accusative in -ν, and genitive in -∅, e.g. λόγο-ς, λόγο-ν, λόγου, ναύτης, ναύτην, ναύτη 'sailor'. Feminines had nominative in -∅, accusative in -ν, and genitive in -ς, e.g. νύμφη, νύμφην, νύμφης 'bride', χώρα, χώραν, χώρας 'land'. Side by side with these there existed a number of consonantal stems with a different pattern, e.g. πατήρ, πατέρα, πατρός 'father', μήτηρ, μητέρα, μητρός 'mother', φύλαξ, φύλακα, φύλακος 'guard', Ἑλλάς, Ἑλλάδα, Ἑλλάδος 'Greece'.

Since the common feature of all the vowel-stem nouns was that their accusative singular ended in -ν, -ν was added to the accusative singular of the consonant-stem nouns, giving the forms πατέραν, μητέραν, φύλακαν, Ἑλλάδαν.[10] Around this new accusative singular a new paradigm was constructed after the model of the vowel-stem nouns, thus from acc. πατέραν was formed nom. πατέρας and gen. πατέρα, from acc. μητέραν was formed nom. μητέρα and gen. μητέράς; similarly the paradigms φύλακας, φύλακαν, φύλακα, and Ἑλλάδα, Ἑλλάδαν, Ἑλλάδας were formed. This new pattern enabled the singular forms of the vast majority of Greek masculine and feminine nouns to be formed in accordance with two simple paradigms.

Neuter substantives still followed a series of patterns of their own, with only two forms. Incidentally one of the effects of the new rearrangement of substantives was to isolate feminines in -ος. Many of them simply became masculine or neuter. Thus we find ὁ βάτος 'bush', ὁ πλάτανος 'plane-tree', ὁ ψῆφος 'pebble, vote', ὁ ἄμμος 'sand', τὸ βάσανο 'torture' etc. Others were replaced by feminine forms in -η or -α, thus ἡ ἀσβόλη 'soot', ἡ Σύρα, occasionally ἡ παρθένα, ἡ παρθένη 'maiden'. Others were replaced by neuter diminutive forms, e.g. (τὸ ἀμπέλι 'vine', τὸ ῥαβδί 'rod'; others again by synonyms, e.g. ἡ ὁδός 'road' by ὁ δρόμος. The fluctuation in gender of these words is already evident in papyri of the Roman period.[11] A few formed a rather labile group of feminines in -ο or -ον, e.g. we find ἡ ἄμμο etc.

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[10] Third declension accusative singulars in -αν are frequent in papyri of the Roman period both before initial vowel and before initial consonant in the following word. Cf. Gignac (1981) 45–6.

[11] Cf. Gignac (1981) 39–41.

The plural of substantives presented different problems. It did not necessarily mark gender, as did the singular. And the consonant stem nominative ending had from the Koine period been invading the masculine and feminine *a*-stems. Thus χῶρες replaced χῶραι, ναῦτες replaced ναῦται. The reason is firstly phonetic, resulting from the monophthongisation of αι to ε, and secondly structural: the parallelism of χῶραι (pronounced χῶρε): χώρας and μητέρες; μητέρας led to the substitution of χῶρες for χῶραι. Thus *a*-stem nouns and consonant stem nouns agreed in the paradigm -ες, -ας, -ων (-ῶν) in the plural. Only the *o*-stem nouns maintained a distinct paradigm in -οι, -ους, -ων. At the same time the loss of the sense of distinction between nouns with a vocalic and those with a consonantal stem led to the extension of certain consonant stem plural endings to other consonant stems and to vowel stems. In particular the endings -άδες, -άδας, -άδων and -ιδες, -ιδας, -ίδων abstracted from substantives such as φυγάς, φυγάδες 'exile'; δακτυλίς, δακτυλίδες 'ring' became extended to a greater variety of other substantives, replacing the plural endings -ες, -ας, -ων. Parisyllabic and imparisyllabic plurals often exist side by side. Only masculine *o*- stems never have imparisyllabic plurals. *e*- stems and *u*- stems always have them in modern Greek, and probably this characteristic dates from the rearrangement of noun paradigms in the early middle ages. One of the advantages of the imparisyllabic pattern was that it preserved the vowel of the singular stem, which would otherwise have vanished in the plural, since plurals – other than those of *o*- stems – were now formed with consonantal stems and vocalic terminations, πατέρ-ες, πατέρ-ας, πατέρ-ων as opposed to singular πατέρα-ς, -ν, -∅. This no doubt explains why καφέδες 'coffee' and παππούδες 'grandfather' are the only plural forms found today from καφές and παππούς; it would otherwise have been impossible to preserve the distinctive vowels in the plural. A result of this remodelling of the nominal declensions is that – *o*- stems apart – singular and plural of a Greek noun no longer had the same stem, and hence there was no necessary one-to-one correlation between them.[12]

In the definite article there is probably one morphological change which must be attributed to the period under discussion,

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[12] On the remodelling of the noun paradigm cf., in addition to the material in Dieterich (1898) 149–74 and Jannaris (1897) 101–36, also Seiler (1958a), Ruge (1969). On the imparisyllabic nominal paradigm cf. in particular Ruge (1969) 51–4.

although it is not directly attested during this period. Sporadic examples occur, however, in earlier papyri, and when in the twelfth century we once again have extensive demotic texts we find it completed. It is the substitution of *οἱ* for *αἱ* in the nominative plural feminine. It is probably to be explained by the analogy of the plural forms of nouns which were largely common to masculine and feminine. It is interesting that in the Greek of Bova in Calabria the originally feminine form *αἱ* has been extended to the masculine article. The dative forms of the article, singular and plural, naturally passed out of living use with the disappearance of the dative case as a morphological and syntactical category.

The series of demonstrative pronouns was slightly remodelled. *ὅδε* is rare in vulgar Koine texts – in the New Testament it hardly occurs except in the form *τάδε* – and passed out of use in the period under review. Its place was taken by *αὐτός*, which ceased to be used in the meaning 'self', being replaced by *ἴδιος*[13]. *οὗτος* remained in use, but its paradigm was simplified, the stem *τοῦτ-* being used throughout, giving *τοῦτος, τούτη, τοῦτο* etc. *ἐκεῖνος* remained in use, though less frequent than in earlier periods. On the analogy of *ἐκεῖνος* we sometimes find *ἐτοῦτος*.

The relative pronoun was in a state of uncertainty, and viable new forms were not established until the following period. *ὅς, ἥ, ὅ* is still found. But these forms lacked body and were liable to vanish after a preceding vocalic ending or before a following initial vowel. They are more often replaced by one of the following:

(1) *ὅστις, ἥτις, ὅτι*, originally an indefinite relative pronoun, 'whoever'; but the confusion begins in classical times.[14]

(2) *τίς, τί*. The use of interrogative pronouns as relatives is common in many languages.

(3) *τόν, τήν, τό* etc. This is very common in the accusative and genitive; cases of *ὁ, ἡ, τό* in the nominative are rare. Examples of this use of forms, identical with those of the definite article, appear in early Hellenistic times, and are common in the later Koine, e.g. *τὰ βουίδια τὰ ἐλάβατε* 'the oxen which you got', *εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ὁ Θεὸς σὲ ἔδωκεν* 'in the place which God gave you', *ἐκεῖνο τὸ*

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[13] A parallel is offered by the development of *ipse* as a demonstrative pronoun in the Romance languages, e.g. Italian *esso*, Spanish *eso*.

[14] Cf. Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950) 643.

ἐφάγαμεν 'that which we ate'[15]. In the period under review it was the commonest form of the relative pronoun, and remained in living use until the sixteenth century, though to an ever growing extent replaced by ὅπου, ὁποῦ, ποὐ and ὁποῖος.

The system of the personal pronouns was extensively remodelled, though it is very difficult to reconstruct the details of the process. Side by side with the emphatic forms ἐμέ, ἐμοῦ, new forms ἐσέ, ἐσοῦ were created by analogy. A new second person plural ἐσεῖς, ἐσᾶς, ἐσῶν was created on the analogy of ἐσέ etc. and is first attested in the seventh century. In due course ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς became homophonous, but ὑμεῖς had already been replaced in spoken Greek by the new forms before this occurred. After the period under review this process of remodelling was completed by the replacement of ἡμεῖς, ἡμᾶς, ἡμῶν by ἐμεῖς, ἐμᾶς, ἐμῶν on the analogy of the singular.[16] At the same time the principle of distinction between emphatic forms with a vocalic prefix and enclitic forms without it was carried through, resulting in the following paradigm in the first and second persons:

ἐγώ	ἡμεῖς ἐμεῖς
ἐμέ μέ	ἡμᾶς ἐμᾶς μᾶς
ἐμοῦ μου	ἡμῶν ἐμῶν (μῶν)
ἐσύ	ἐσεῖς σεῖς
ἐσέ σε	ἐσᾶς σᾶς
ἐσοῦ σου	ἐσῶν (σῶν)

The forms in brackets are rare or doubtful; the enclitic form of the accusative seems even at this period to have been used for the genitive. The third person pronoun αὐτός, originally an anaphoric pronoun, was drawn into the system of the personal pronouns, and provided with similar enclitic forms, thus:

αὐτός	αὐτή	αὐτό
αὐτόν τον	αὐτήν την	αὐτό το
αὐτοῦ του	αὐτῆς της	αὐτοῦ του
αὐτοί	αὐτές	αὐτά
αὐτούς τους	αὐτάς τας	αὐτά τα
αὐτῶν των	αὐτῶν των	αὐτῶν των

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[15] For examples in late Roman papyri cf. Gignac (1981) 179.
[16] Cf. Gignac (1981) 165.

A further change, the details of which are even less clear, affected the emphatic forms of the first and second persons singular. ἐμέ and ἐσέ acquired a final -ν, presumably on the analogy of demonstrative and other pronouns. ἐμέν occurs in papyri of the second century, ἐσέν apparently not until the fifth, though σεν is common from the third century: but these forms hardly occur in literary Koine. The next step was to 'normalise' the accusative forms ἐμέν and ἐσέν, which are isolated, by treating them as consonantal noun stems, and attaching the accusative termination -αν to them, giving ἐμέναν and ἐσέναν. ἐμέναν is first attested in the fourth century; and when in the twelfth century demotic texts are once again available, ἐμέναν and ἐσέναν are the regular emphatic forms. So the change outlined above presumably took place during the period under discussion.[17]

In the domain of the verb the non-personal forms, infinitive and participle, remained in use throughout the period under review; in the chronicles infinitives were used in final-consecutive sense, as object of a great variety of verbs, and as substantives with the article, while participles were in the main used circumstantially. Both are very frequent in the *Chronography* of Theophanes, who can write such a sentence as γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ Σαρβαραζᾶ εἰς δειλίαν ἐτράπησαν, καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ βασιλέως προσέπεσον δάκρυσι μετανοοῦντες διὰ τὴν κακῶς γενομένην αὐτῶν παρακοήν, γνόντες οἷον κακῶν ἐστι δούλων μὴ εἰκεῖν τοῖς τοῦ δεσπότου βουλεύμασι 'The Romans, learning of the approach of Sarbarazas, turned craven, and fell at the feet of the emperor in tears, repenting of their ill-conceived disobedience, knowing that it is the mark of bad servants not to give way to the designs of their master.' This is far from spoken Greek; and each of the participles and infinitives in this passage could readily be replaced by a construction with a finite verb form γνόντες → ὅταν ἔγνωσαν, μετανοοῦντες → καί μετενόησαν, γενομένην → ἥτις ἐγένετο, γνόντες → διότι ἔγνωσαν, εἰκεῖν → ἵνα εἴκουσι.

So both infinitive and participle were by this time, if not earlier, in process of desystematisation. The infinitive certainly survived in living, though restricted, use after the end of the period, and indeed still survives in a fossilised form in certain modern Greek

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[17] On the development of the personal pronouns cf., in addition to Dieterich (1898) 189–92 and Jannaris (1897) 347, the interesting but not always entirely convincing reconstruction of their history in the light of structural linguistics by Dressler (1966).

periphrastic forms.[18] The position of the participle was already much weakened. The majority of participles, even in Theophanes' *Chronography*, are circumstantial participles, adverbial in function, playing exactly the same role in the sentence as the modern Greek indeclinable gerund in -οντας which is the continuation of the earlier active participles. Moreover we find frequent confusion between tenses of the active participle, between genders, and between cases, e.g. τὸν ἀναπληροῦντα τὸν τόπον τὸν ἐμόν 'the man who will take my place' (=future) Theophanes; πλήθη συρρευσάντων δυνάμεων 'a number of powers coalescing' Theophylact; πάντων γυναικῶν 'of all women', *Acta Thomae*; τὸ παιδίον ζῶντα 'the child alive', *Vita Epiphanii*; ἡ ψυχὴ βοᾷ λέγοντα 'the soul cries out saying', *Apocalypse of the Virgin*; τά ῥηθέν, τῶν δοθέν, etc. We also find participles used in coordination with finite verbs, e.g. δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ γράμματα παρὰ Ἐπιφανίου καὶ ἐποίησεν τύπον τοιοῦτον 'So the emperor, receiving the letter of Epiphanios, and made the following order'. By the end of the period under review we begin to find an indeclinable form in -οντα used either adverbially or predicatively, e.g. ἡμεῖς βλέποντα (a document from southern Italy dated 999), ἐὰν φανῶμεν καταζητοῦντα καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντα (a document of 1034). But the Prodromic poems still use declined active participles. The passive participles in -όμενος and -μένος, on the other hand, remain in undiminished use, and fully inflected.[19]

Correspondingly the verbal periphrases involving an active participle listed in the previous chapter become less frequent, while the periphrases with the infinitive remain in use. The commonest future periphrasis is that with ἔχω + infinitive; but the commonest expression of futurity is probably the present indicative.

The vestiges of the perfect active become fused with the aorist, giving rise to the frequent aorists in -κα found in all dialects of modern Greek. At the same time the periphrastic perfect active ἔχω + perfect participle passive, and its passive equivalent εἰμί + perfect participle passive, become firmly established. The verb in spoken Greek has by now in principle two themes, which express opposing aspects (continuous and momentary actions) in all moods, and which in the indicative only carry an additional distinction of time. There is uncertainty in the use of the syllabic

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[18] On the infinitive and its substitutes in medieval Greek cf. Joseph (1978) 10–52.

[19] On the development of the participle cf. Mirambel (1961a).

augment, and we find such forms as παρείσφερεν, ἐπιδείκνυτο, ἐπισκόπησεν.[20] This is connected with the tendency to eliminate pretonic initial vowels (p. 57). But the rule of modern common demotic by which the augment is only retained when accented is a much later development. Modern Greek dialects vary very much in their treatment of the syllabic augment. The temporal augment is generally dropped, the initial vowel remaining unchanged. Occasional temporal augments of the first vowel of compound verbs, e.g. ἠπαίτησε, ἠφόρησε, are indications of the failure to analyse the compound verb correctly. Some modern Greek dialects have a syllabic augment ἠ- even in unaccented position.

Of the various present-theme suffixes inherited by Greek only a few remain productive. Apart from those used to form denominative verbs, -ίζω, -άζω, -εύω, one other purely verbal suffix spreads in this period – -νω. We find such forms as δένω for δέω, φέρνω for φέρω, χύνω for χέω. Along with the inherited verbs in -νω and in -άνω or -αίνω these form a substantial group, as a result of which a suffixed -ν- comes to be one of the main marks of a present stem. It begins even to be extended to the verbs with final accent (the old contract verbs); we find such forms as κερνῶ 'mix' (κεράω), περνῶ 'cross over' (περάω) in this period, forerunners of a large class of verbs in later spoken Greek. Verbs in -όω tend to be reformed in -ώνω. In general, the suffix -νω is used to form new present themes from aorist themes. Usually the rearrangement of Greek present stems takes place by analogy based on aorist stems, which generally survive unchanged from ancient Greek. Thus the development of labial present stems in -βω depends on the analogy ἔτριψα = τρίβω = ἔκρυψα = κρύβω (first attested in the New Testament). The scope of this class was enormously extended by its absorption of denominative verbs in -εύω, whose aorists in spoken Greek were in -εψα. Many new verbs in -ζω are based on existing aorists in -σα. On the analogy of δύνω/ἔδυσα, ξύνω/ἔξυσα were formed ἀφίνω/ἄφισα, ψήνω/ἔψησα, φτειάνω/ἔφτειασα (from εὐθείασα, originally aorist to present εὐθειάζω). Original -άω verbs are transferred to other classes, e.g. -άζω, -ίζω, -έω on the basis of their aorist in -ησα (= -ισα). Original -όω verbs are transferred to a new class in -ώνω, which develops from -ώννυμι, -ωννύω > -ωνύω

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[20] For examples of omission of the syllabic augment in papyri of the Roman and early Byzantine period cf. Gignac (1981) 223–5.

(because in the third person singular -ωννύει becomes -ώννει) >
-ώνω, on the base of the common aorist in -ωσα.[21]

The verb εἰμί 'to be' completes a development begun in the
previous period, the chief features of which are:

(1). The substitution of medio-passive endings for the anomal-
ous athematic active endings. This perhaps began in the imperfect.

(2) The replacement of the third person present indicative singu-
lar and plural forms by ἔνι (= ἔνεστι 'there exists').

The result of these processes is the establishment in the period
under review of the paradigm:[22]

εἶμαι	εἴμεθα	ἤμην	ἤμεθα
εἶσαι	(εἶσθε?)	ἦσο	ἤσασθε
ἔνι	ἔνι	ἦτο(ν)	ἦσαν, ἦν, ἦταν

The scarcity of texts reflecting the spoken language makes it
difficult to say much about the development of the vocabulary.
Most of the suffixes productive in the previous period continue to
be productive. -ᾶς begins to replace -άριος as an agent suffix, but
does not completely replace it. Verbal abstracts in -σιμο(ν) occur
more frequently – the earliest, isolated, example occurs in a pa-
pyrus of the fifth or sixth century. Their increasing frequency is
connected with the decline in the use of the infinitive. There is also
an extension of verbal nouns in -μα. There is a considerable
extension of the feminine suffix -ισσα, resulting from the remodel-
ling of the noun-paradigm, which henceforth excluded feminine
substantives in -ος. Neuter diminutives in -ιον, -άριον, -άδιον,
-ίδιον, -άκιον, -ίκιον become more numerous. The new suffix
-τζι(ν), -ιτζι(ν) makes its appearance, mainly in personal names,
but also in such common nouns as ἡνίτζιν 'bridle', σικιπινίτζιν (?),
σταυρίτζιν 'cross', προαστίτζιν 'farm'; its origin is disputed, some
authorities believing it to be due to Slavonic influence, others to
palatalisation of -ίκιο(ν).[23] There are a few instances in the period

[21] On the restructuring of present stems in medieval and modern Greek cf. Cole
(1975).
[22] On the development of the medieval and modern Greek forms of the sub-
stantive verb cf. Pernot (1891), (1946) 252; Dieterich (1898) 223–8; Kapsomenos
(1953), Gignac (1981) 400–8.
[23] On the -ιτζ-, -ιτσ- suffixes cf. the recent very full discussion in Georgacas
(1982). Georgacas inclines to see these suffixes as arising in Greek independently
of external influences.

under review of the suffix -πουλον, e.g. ἀρμενόπουλον, ἀρχοντόπου-
λον, ἀββαδόπουλον, and of its masculine counterpart -πουλος, e.g.
Ἀργυρόπουλος, Γαβριηλόπουλος, Δουλόπουλος, Σθλαβόπουλος.[24]
The adjectival suffix -ᾶτος, of Latin origin, is highly productive,
even with Greek stems, e.g. ἱκανᾶτος, κωδωνᾶτος, as is also the
originally Latin -ιανός. -εύω, -ίζω, -άζω, -όω (-ώνω) remain the
only productive verbal suffixes.

As in earlier and later Greek, composition remains a fertile
source of new vocabulary. Copulative compounds, which are rare
in classical and Koine Greek, become frequent in the period under
review, e.g. ἀριστόδειπνον 'lunch and dinner', εἰσοδοέξοδος 'entry
and exit', ὑποκαμισοβράκιον 'shirt and trousers', ἀνδρόγυνος 'man
and wife',[25] τοξοφάρετρον 'bow and quiver', πρασινοβένετος
'green and blue'.[26] Determinative compounds whose second
member is a substantive (karmadharaya compounds) are ex-
tremely numerous, as are also compound verbal adjectives in -τος,
the first element of which stands in causal relation to the second
(tatpurusa compounds), e.g. θεόβλαστος 'sprung from God',
χρυσοστοίβαστος 'heaped with gold'. Verbal compounds are
found in which the first element is not a preposition, e.g. τοπο-
τηρέω 'represent', μηροκλάζω 'break a leg', σιδηροδέω 'fetter',
ἀσπροφορέω 'wear white', ὀφθαλμοπλανέω 'have a roving eye'.
Compound verbs formed from a compound noun and adjective
whose second element is verbal are of course common, as they
were in earlier periods of the language.

Latin continues to be the chief source of loan-words. But as the
court and the upper strata of society ceased to be even theoretically
bilingual, the number of new Latin loan-words belonging to the
sphere of administration diminished. Such Latin loan-words as do
occur for the first time in the period under review occasionally
show signs of originating in the spoken Latin of the Balkan
provinces, rather than in the literary Latin of lawyers and admin-
istrators. An example is πε(ν)τζιμέντον 'baggage' (from impedim-
entum), which shows the Balkan Latin substitution of affricate for

[24] Misinterpreted as the title of an office, 'slave-dealer', by Dölger (1952). This is
an interesting example of the importance of modern Greek for the understanding
of medieval Greek texts.

[25] It is significant that this word means 'effeminate man' in classical Greek, from
Herodotus onwards; i.e. it is a determinative, not a copulative compound. Plato's
use of it in the *Symposium* to denote a hermaphrodite, half-man and half-woman, is
isolated in classical texts.

[26] Cf. Andriotis (1980).

dental plosive before a front vowel.[27] It is rarely possible during this period to distinguish Italian loan-words from Latin loan-words, and in the earlier part of the period of the distinction is meaningless. Though there are no certain Italian loan-words in texts of the period, it seems likely that the flow of Italian words, particularly concerning maritime life, trade, etc., which is so striking in the following period, began in that at present under discussion. The verbal present suffix -άρω, which becomes extremely productive in the later middle ages, is abstracted from the infinitive of Italian verbs in -*are*. Arabic and Persian borrowings mostly concern features of oriental life, titles, etc., e.g. ἀμερουμνής, ἀμιρᾶς, μασγίδιον. But there are a few loan-words belonging to other spheres, e.g. τζιτζάκιον (possibly Chazar), ζιγγίβερ, τζάγγιον, τζυκανιστήριον (Greek derivative of Persian loan-word), βατάν, ζάβα. The few loan-words from the language of the proto-Bulgars are all titles or names of offices, e.g. βοϊλᾶς, βοάνος, χαγάνος.

[27] Rosetti (1943) 72–4; Battisti (1950) 151; Mihăescu (1978) 196–8.

4   *The Greek language in the later middle ages (1100–1453)*

In the course of these centuries there occurred a number of developments in the history of the Greek-speaking people which are reflected in the history of the language, and even profoundly affected it. Nevertheless, it must be made clear at the outset that they are all of secondary character. Modern Greek took its shape in the previous period, above all in its earlier half. The accident – from the linguistic point of view, though of course it is not an accident for the historian – that we have a great deal more evidence for the spoken language from the later middle ages than from the earlier middle ages attracted scholars to the later period. And misunderstanding of the nature of the mixed language in which the late medieval texts are in the main written often caused them to date the changes by which the modern Greek language was formed to a period many centuries too late. This point has been discussed in Chapter 1.

At the end of the eleventh century the greater part of Asia Minor was conquered and occupied by the Seljuk Turks. Large areas in the west of the peninsula were regained by the Byzantines in the first half of the twelfth century, but their tenure was weak and uncertain. By the early thirteenth century Asia Minor was once again largely in Seljuk hands, or in those of the Turcoman subjects of the Seljuks. Only in the extreme west and north-west, where the Nicaean empire controlled a fairly large and firmly administered territory, in the north-east, where the empire of Trebizond held the coast from Sinope to east of Trebizond and some of the valleys running south into the mountains of Pontus and fought with the Turcomans for control of the high mountain pastures, and in the south-east, where the Armenian principality of Little Armenia controlled most of Cilicia, did substantial areas remain free from Turkish control. By the early fourteenth century the Turks, now under the leadership of the Ottoman emirs from north-west Asia Minor, had driven the Byzantines out of the mainland of Asia Minor. Only the Pontic coast and the upland valleys behind it remained in Greek hands, under local Greek rulers. By the middle

of the century the Ottoman Turks, invited by one side in a Byzantine dynastic war, had established themselves in the Balkan peninsula. By the end of the century all that remained as Byzantine territory was the capital itself, with a few square miles of land surrounding it, Thessalonica and its immediate hinterland, a few points on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara, and the greater part of the Peloponnese. In 1453 Constantinople itself was captured by the Turks, and a few years later the Peloponnese and the empire of Trebizond had fallen to them. The common characteristics which most of the Greek dialects of Asia Minor show as compared with those of the rest of the Greek world no doubt reflect this early isolation from metropolitan influences, and the closer and more intimate contact with Turkish speakers which the Asia Minor Greeks had over the centuries. The influx of Turkish loan-words into Greek begins in the period under review.

Byzantium, too, was brought into close and not always friendly contact with western Europe, during this period. From the end of the eleventh century successive armies of crusaders passed through Byzantine territory, and bodies of French, Italian, Spanish and German soldiers began to serve as mercenaries under the Byzantine high command – a step rendered necessary largely by the loss of the manpower of Asia Minor. At the same time communities of western merchants and traders began to settle in Constantinople and in all the coastal cities of the Byzantine Empire. These included Amalfitans, Pisans, Neapolitans, Florentines and others, but above all colonists from Venice and Genoa. In a remarkably short time they came to dominate Byzantine seaborne trade, and to drain off to the west the enormous gold reserves of the Empire. The Latin communities in Constantinople and many of the cities of the empire were prosperous and numerous. Byzantine ruling circles despised them for their lack of culture – while often concluding advantageous bargains with them for the sale of the produce of their estates. The mass of the people mistrusted them; relations were often tense, and there were occasional pogroms, as in 1182, when the Venetian community in Constantinople was massacred.

In 1204 came the diversion of the Fourth Crusade, the capture of Constantinople, and the establishment of the rickety Latin empire. There was no longer a centralised Byzantine state. Greek successor states sprang up in Epirus, in north-west Asia Minor and in Pontus. The bulk of the western territories of the Empire passed

into Latin hands, often never to leave them for centuries. Cyprus, captured by Richard Cœur-de-Lion in a fit of absence of mind, passed into the hands of the French Lusignans and their feudal barons. Crete became a Venetian possession, and remained one until the second half of the seventeenth century. Rhodes fell to the Knights of St John. The islands of the Cyclades were divided between Genoa, Venice, and a multiplicity of half-independent states set up by western adventurers. Euboea was Venetian, as were a number of strong-points round the Peloponnesian coast. The rest of the Peloponnese became the Principality of the Morea, ruled by the Villehardouin family, though later the Byzantines succeeded in regaining possession of the greater part of the peninsula. Attica, Boeotia and other parts of central Greece came under the Burgundian Lords of Athens, later Dukes of Athens – which is why Theseus is given this title by Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer and Shakespeare. Further north was the ephemeral Kingdom of Thessalonica. Between these major states and in their interstices lay a number of tiny feudal Latin states, whose frontiers constantly changed, and which were fused or separated by the chances of war or dynastic marriage. The Ionian islands were divided between Italian principalities, ruled mainly by the Tocco family, and Venetian domains.

The effects of the Latin conquest were complex. Latin loanwords flooded into the language: and in this context 'Latin' refers not to the classical language of Rome, but to the Romance vernaculars spoken in the Mediterranean area. Italian loan-words are probably the most frequent. But they are often taken from peripheral dialects of Italian, in particular from Venetian. Next in frequency come French loan-words. And finally a thin scattering of borrowings from Provençal, Catalan, Spanish, etc. One would expect that these borrowed words first entered Greek in areas controlled by speakers of the language from which each was borrowed. But there is no direct evidence for this. And we must remember that the Latin community of Outremer was fairly polyglot. In fact it is easier to establish semantic fields in which words were borrowed from particular languages. Thus the vocabulary of feudal law and land-tenure is mainly French, that of trade and seafaring mainly Italian.

But the Latin domination had more important effects. The prestige of the literary language was lowered as the whole state apparatus whose vehicle it had been was swept aside. The elab-

orate educational system which had maintained and inculcated its use broke down. This does not mean that men at once began to use the vernacular for literary purposes. Many of them still sought to realise the old ideal of an unchanging written language. Gregory of Cyprus, who, unable to obtain a good Hellenic education in his native land under Lusignan rule, crossed Asia Minor on foot in winter in order to pursue his education in Constantinople, now once again in Byzantine hands, is not an isolated figure. In fact in the restored empire of the Palaeologi there was something of a literary renaissance in the old style. This is best understood as an assertion of cultural superiority now that political superiority was out of the question. The hated westerners might have power, but they had not that direct access to Hellenic wisdom and Christian doctrine that only knowledge of the Greek language could give. But in the great areas which remained permanently under Latin rule the situation was different. Not only were they cut off from the cultural centre in Constantinople, not only was an education of the old type more difficult to obtain, not only had they daily before their eyes the example of their Latin rulers, who more and more used the vernacular tongue for administrative and literary purposes, but a classical education was no longer the path to preferment. For we must not forget that one of the factors which gave the literary language its prestige was that command of it could lead to high positions in state and church. It was one of the paths of social mobility in a highly stratified society. It is significant that Gregory of Cyprus, of whom we have just spoken, in due course became Oecumenical Patriarch. No doubt many other lads who faced equal hardships in the pursuit of education never rose high enough to leave a mark in history; but some careers were open to certain kinds of talent. This was not so in Crete, or Cyprus, or Attica, under Latin occupation.

Literature in something approaching the vernacular did not begin only after the Latin conquest, nor was it confined to areas under Latin rule. In the middle of the twelfth century Theodore Prodromos and Michael Glykas wrote poems in the spoken tongue as well as works in the purist literary language. These are satirical genre pieces rather than the beginning of a break-through of the vernacular tongue into literature. That did not occur until the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, when a number of romances of chivalry, romanticised poems on Achilles, Alexander, and Belisarios, satirical poems, etc. were written in a language

approximating to the spoken Greek of the time. Though the conditions created by the Latin conquests certainly furthered this break with tradition, there is no reason to believe that it took place solely or mainly in territories under western rule. It seems rather to have been the work of men fully familiar with the traditional language and literature who sought a more flexible and expressive medium for what was essentially literature of entertainment. Serious writing still called for the use of the literary tongue.

Evidence for the spoken language is much more copious than in the preceding period. The epic poem of Digenis Akritas, which belongs to the tenth or eleventh century, is, in its surviving versions at any rate, composed in the literary tongue. One of the versions, that of the Escorial manuscript, shows many traits of the spoken tongue, however, and some scholars have thought that the poem was originally composed in the spoken language and later 'improved'. It seems more likely, however, that an original 'learned' version was subsequently popularised. The poem *Spaneas* too is basically in the literary tongue, with sporadic concessions to spoken usage. The first substantial monuments of spoken Greek are the poems of Michael Glykas and the vernacular poems of Theodore Prodromos, both dating from the middle of the twelfth century. Glykas writes in a very uneven style. Passages of near-vernacular alternate with passages showing scarcely any vernacular features. The Prodromic poems, however, constitute a much more consistent attempt to reflect in literature the language of everyday speech of Constantinople. They are, like all the early vernacular poems, written in a mixed language. But the mixture contains a major proportion of living speech, recreated by a sensitive observer.

There is little vernacular writing that can be attributed to the thirteenth century, a time of turmoil in the Greek world. But about the year 1300 there was composed a long poetic chronicle, the *Chronicle of the Morea*. There exist French, Italian and Aragonese versions of this chronicle, and some have held that it was originally composed in French and afterwards translated into Greek. At any rate the Greek version, whether original or translated, is the work of a man who had little or no contact with Byzantine tradition or with the literary tongue. He was probably a second or third generation French settler, Hellenised in language, but seeing the world through the eyes of the French of Outremer. This is a document of almost pure spoken Greek. But the word 'almost' is

important. As was observed in Chapter 1, there are scattered words and phrases of the literary language, often used without understanding, like the classical nominative θυγάτηρ used as an accusative or genitive. And there are vernacular forms which today are in general not used in the same dialect, such as third persons plural of verbs in -ουν and -ουσι. Perhaps they were genuine alternatives in the language spoken by the writer. But it is more likely that he is using a mixed language, the result rather of lack of feeling for the language than of conscious effort to raise his style above that of everyday speech.

Finally we have a series of narrative poems, some of them adaptations – we must not speak of translations – from western exemplars, others wholly Greek in theme, though indebted in their manner to western influences in some degree. Some of them exist in several different versions, and it has been suggested that they may have been composed orally, and written down at different performances.

These poems include the romances of Lybistros and Rhodamne, Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe, Belthandros and Chrysantza, Imberios and Margarona, and Phlorios and Platziaphlore, the story of Apollonios of Tyre, the Achilleid, the tale of Belisarios, several poems on the Trojan war, of which the longest – still unpublished – is an adaptation, direct or indirect, of the Old French poem of Benoît de Sainte-Maure, a version of the Alexander romance, several satirical poems of the *Animal Farm* type, the point of which is now lost for us, and various minor works. The only identifiable poet of the period is Leonardos Dellaportas, a Cretan in the Venetian service, who wrote a long dialogue between the poet and Truth, containing many autobiographical elements, as well as three shorter poems, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. An edition of these hitherto unknown poems by Professor M. I. Manoussakas is awaited.[1]

None of these poems, apart from those of Dellaportas, the Alexander romance, and one of the animal poems, can be even approximately dated. Nor can they be attributed on linguistic grounds to any particular area of the Greek world. Either the modern dialects had not yet sufficiently differentiated – which seems unlikely – or there still existed, in spite of the political

[1] On the romances of chivalry and similar poems cf. E. M. Jeffreys (1979), (1981), E. M. and M. J. Jeffreys (1979).

fragmentation of the Greek world, a common spoken language, at any rate among city-dwellers. It is interesting to compare in this respect the poems of Dellaportas, which, in the excerpts so far published, show no typically Cretan dialect features, with the flourishing Cretan literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which adopts a linguistic form based upon the living speech of Crete.

Prose literature in near-vernacular Greek is much less rich. The Chronicle of Dukas (which is in a mixture of demotic and learned Greek), a few brief chronicles, the Cypriot Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas, the Assizes of Cyprus, itself a translation, and a number of unassuming paraphrases of works composed in the literary language, virtually exhaust the list.[2] Makhairas' Chronicle is composed in Cypriot vernacular, the other works show no particular dialect features. There is also a good deal of archival material from the period, some of which is composed in the vernacular, and all of which is to some extent influenced by it.

Changes in pronunciation no doubt took place during this period. But with a few exceptions, to be discussed below, they did not affect the phonological structure of the common language. The beginnings of the modern dialects are discernible; though texts which show consistently the features of a particular dialect are not found until later, apart from the Cypriot texts mentioned above. Some of the dialects have a phonological structure different from that of the common language, e.g. in respect of the treatment of unstressed vowels, or of the palatalisation of -κ- to -č- before a front vowel. A phonological change in the common language which can be dated with some probability to this period is the disappearance of final -ν, except before a vowel or plosive in the following word, where the two words form a single accentual group, e.g. article + substantive. Near-vernacular texts of the twelfth century, such as the Prodromic poems, generally preserve final -ν, but there is some uncertainty. Thus we find βασιλέαν and βασιλέα 'king'. Frequently a final -ν appears where it has no historical justification, e.g. θέλημα 'will' but θέλημάν του, τὸ στόμαν της 'her mouth', ἐκόπην τὸ ζωνάριν μου 'my belt was cut'. By the fifteenth century final -ν seems to have disappeared in the central areas of Greek speech, except, as explained above, before a

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[2] On the early vernacular literature cf. Knōs (1962), where a full bibliography will be found, and more recently Beck (1971).

following vowel or plosive. But in many dialects, e.g. those of Cyprus, of the Dodecanese, and of southern Italy, it still survives, and is regularly added to certain forms in which it is not historically justified. Thus Cypriot Greek says not only čɛρίν (κɛρί), βουνόν (βουνό), etc., but also πρόγραμμαν, πολλύν (πολύ), ἐξέβην (ἐξέβηκε), etc. In dialects in which final -ν is preserved and extended it is generally assimilated to the initial consonant of the following word within the same word-group according to quite complex rules. This feature renders these dialects difficult to understand at first for speakers of common demotic. It is probably in the course of this period that certain consonantal combinations involving plosive plus plosive, spirant plus spirant, and σ plus spirant underwent a change in pronunciation, the outcome of which was that these groups were all reduced to fricative plus plosive. Thus:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\left.\begin{array}{l} \kappa\tau \\ \chi\theta \end{array}\right\} &> \chi\tau \\
\left.\begin{array}{l} \pi\tau \\ \phi\theta \end{array}\right\} &> \phi\tau \\
\sigma\theta &> \sigma\tau \\
\sigma\chi &> \sigma\kappa
\end{aligned}
$$

These changes are only sporadically attested in documents of the period. Even today, they are incomplete, insofar as loan-words from the purist language tend to preserve the traditional pronunciation. Ἐλευθερία is as common as, or even more common than, λευτεριά. Furthermore, though -σθ- regularly becomes -στ-, the parallel change of -σχ- to -σκ- is only partially carried out: σχολεῖο is as good demotic as σκολειό, ἄσχημος as ἄσκημος. The change of σφ to σπ which might be expected does not occur. The Greek dialects of southern Italy have gone their own way in regard to these consonantal combinations. In Bova original πτ, φθ, κτ, χθ and σθ are all represented by *st*, e.g. *está* from ἑπτά, *stíra* 'louse' from φθείρα, *ostró* 'enemy' from ἐχθρός, *epiástina* from ἐπιάσθην etc. But in other villages of Calabria other patterns of assimilation are found, e.g. *aléftora* (ἀλέκτωρ), *nítta*, *níθta* (νύκτα), *ettá*, *eθtá* (ἑπτά). Apulian Greek develops *ft* from original κτ, χθ, e.g. *nífta* (νύκτα), *ftinó* (κτηνόν), from original πτ, φθ, e.g. *ftoχó* (πτωχός), *eftá* (ἑπτά), and from original σθ, e.g. *afté* (ἐχθές).[3]

A further change which took place in this period was the

[3] Rohlfs (1950) 54, 57–8, 65.

synizesis of ι and ε with a following vowel, accompanied by a shift of accent. Thus καρδία 'heart' became καρδιά, μηλέα 'appletree' became μηλιά, παιδίου 'child's' became παιδιοῦ etc. This change did not take place simultaneously throughout the Greek world – indeed some dialects still preserve καρδία etc., while others have developed a palatal plosive -ki̯-, -gi̯- out of the pretonic vowel – and we find in literary texts of the period forms with and without synizesis used side by side. Probably both forms long coexisted in living speech, the choice between them depending upon the tempo of utterance and the extra-linguistic situation.

The disappearance of final -ν had a drastic effect upon noun paradigms. As we have seen, the great majority of masculine and feminine substantives had been adapted to a single paradigm in the singular:

Masc. N.	-ας		Fem. N.	-α
Acc.	-αν		Acc.	-αν
Gen.	-α		Gen.	-ας

The loss of final -ν reduced the three forms of this paradigm to two in common demotic:

Masc. N.	-ας		Fem. N.	} -α
Acc.	} -α		Acc.	
Gen.			Gen.	-ας

Masculine o-stems still preserved three forms in the singular:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{N.} & \text{-ος} \\
\text{Acc.} & \text{-ο} \\
\text{Gen.} & \text{-ου}
\end{array}
$$

A new class of neuters arose in -ι, with genitive in -ίου, becoming -ιοῦ by the same metathesis of accent which led to -ία becoming -ιά.

We thus have masculines in -ος, masculines in -ας, -ης (less frequently -ες, -ους), feminines in -α (-ία, -ιά), -η (plus a few in -ου, and proper names etc. in -ω), neuters in -ο and in -ι. Plurals of masculines and feminines are sometimes parisyllabic, sometimes imparisyllabic (-άδες, -ίδες etc.), the distribution of plural forms among the various singular forms being very uncertain. These patterns to which may be added that of neuters in -μα, Gen. -ματος, account for the vast majority of substantives in the living tongue. Certain inherited patterns other than these survive, e.g. neuters in -ος, Gen. -ους, feminines in -ις, Gen. -εως but they are confined to a

limited number of words and are not productive. An examination of 100 lines of the *Chronicle of the Morea* shows only the following substantives which do not follow one of the paradigms listed: τὸ πλῆθος 'mass', τοῦ πρίγκηπος 'prince' (a few lines earlier the normal nominative ὁ πρίγκιπας occurs), τὸ πλοῦτος 'wealth' (bis), τὸ μέρος 'place', τὰς χεῖρας 'hands'. By various analogical processes all adjectives were adapted to distinguish the three genders by separate forms. The inherited two-termination adjectives in -ος, -ον were given a feminine form in -η (-α): this is a process which was already at work in classical Greek, and had advanced considerably in the Koine. Adjectives in -ης, -ες were adapted in various ways; by metaplasis to -έος, -έα, -έον or -ος, -η, -ο, by creation of feminine stems in -α and neuter stems in -ικό, etc. Other adjectives with an originally consonantal stem were replaced by forms in -ος, -η, -ο; thus μέλανος or μελανός appears for μέλας 'black' already in Koine, εὐσχήμων 'comely' is replaced by εὔσχημος etc. Adjectives in -ύς, -εῖα, -ύ, remain in living use, as they distinguish the three genders from the beginning. πᾶς, πᾶσα, πᾶν, though distinguishing the genders, is replaced by ὅλος (cf. the replacement of *omnis* by *totus* in Vulgar Latin). The fact that participles were no longer declined (see below) contributed to the disappearance of the consonant stem adjectives.

In the verb, distinctions of time are confined to the indicative. The two themes on which the verb is built serve in principle to distinguish aspect, and in subjunctive, imperative and infinitive (in so far as it survives) they distinguish only aspect. In part as a result of this, in part owing to the unsureness with which participial constructions were handled in Koine and early medieval Greek, the active participles are replaced by a single adverbial form in -οντα, later -οντας without any temporal content cf. *Belthandros and Chrysantza* 395 βλέποντα καὶ τὸ ζώδιον θλιμμένα νὰ ἱστέκη 'seeing the beast standing dismayed', 1010 ἀκούοντα ὁ Βέλθανδρος οὐδὲν ἀπολογήθη 'Belthandros, hearing, made no defence', *Chronicle of the Morea*; Prol. 18 ἰδόντας τοῦθ' ὁ ἅγιος 'the saint seeing this', *Achilleis* 1464 βλέποντας τοὺς ἀγούρους 'seeing the youths' (cf. 1343 ἰδόντας δὲ τὸ θέαμαν 'seeing the sight'): at this stage adverbial participles or gerundives in -οντας may be formed both from aorist and present themes, the distinction being one of aspect; in later Greek the formation is confined to the present stem. The loss of the old active participles appears to have taken place between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The poems of

Theodore Prodromos use participles in accordance with classical rules, the *Chronicle of the Morea* shows complete failure to handle participial inflections; we find ἀκούσων ταῦτα (ἀκούσων being intended as an aorist participle), ἰδόντας γὰρ οἱ προεστοί, οἱ Φράγκοι ... σφάζοντα, οἱ Φράγκοι ... σκοτώνων, σκοπῶντα λογιζόμενος, διαβόντα ὁ καιρός, διαβὼν ὁ καιρός, λέγοντα καὶ ἀρνούμενος etc. But it may be that the change took place earlier in the Peloponnese than in Constantinople, or that Prodromos unwittingly introduces patterns from the literary language in his vernacular poems. Passive participles in -όμενος and -μένος continue to be declinable.[4]

We have seen that the formation of the future was in a state of flux. This condition continues during the period under review. The periphrasis with ἔχω + infinitive becomes less frequent. In part it is replaced by ἔχω νὰ + subjunctive, in the general process of the disappearance of the infinitive along with the other non-personal forms of the verb. But its principal replacements are periphrases with θέλω: θέλω + infinitive, θέλω νὰ + subjunctive, θὲ νὰ + subjunctive (earliest attested in the form θεννὰ in Cyprus in the twelfth century), θὰ νὰ + subjunctive. The forms θὲ and, by vowel assimilation, θὰ are presumably descended from the invariable θέλει, not from the personal θέλω, θέλεις etc.; the person is adequately indicated by the subjunctive forms. A similar invariable form from a verb meaning 'to wish' followed by a subjunctive marking the person occurs in other Balkan languages; the relation between these apparently parallel developments is far from clear.[5] However, in the period under discussion future periphrases with θέλω followed by infinitives were still in living use, though in general in other constructions the infinitive had been replaced by νά (ἵνα) + subjunctive.

One of the results of the development of a series of future periphrases with θέλω was to free the periphrasis consisting of ἔχω + infinitive (generally aorist) for other uses. In early medieval Greek, as we have seen, this was one of the future surrogates. Now if ἔχω ποιῆσαι can pass from the meaning 'I am able to do' to 'I shall do', εἶχα (εἶχον) ποιῆσαι can take on a conditional meaning 'I should or would do or have done'. This is actually found in late

⁴Mirambel (1961a).
⁵Sandfeld (1930) 180–5; Havránek (1966); Reichenkron (1962), Décsy (1973) 105–22, Haarmann (1976) 77–96.

Koine and early medieval texts, e.g. *Acta Philippi* 58.15 εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ
τοιαῦτα πράγματα ἑώρακας (ἑωράκεις), οὐκ εἶχες ταραχθῆναι ἐπὶ
τούτοις 'if you too had seen such things, would you not have been
disturbed by them?' Malalas 128.5 εἶχον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἡμῶν ναῦς
καῦσαι οἱ βάρβαροι, εἰ μὴ νὺξ ἐπῆλθε 'the barbarians would have
burned our ships, had not night fallen'. Since the pluperfect in-
dicative was also used as a conditional or past irrealis in late
Koine, it was to be expected that εἶχα + aor. infin. would be used as
a pluperfect, of anterior action in the past. The earliest certain
examples are in texts of the period under review. In the *Chronicle
of the Morea* we find

<div align="center">

ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον
εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει   (622–3)
</div>

'they put that king on the royal throne which he had lost'

<div align="center">

κ' ηὖραν ἐκεῖ ὅτι εἶχε ἐλθεῖ ἐτότε ὁ Μέγας Κύρης
ἐκ τὸ ῥηγάτο τῆς Φραγκίας, ὅπου τὸν εἶχεν στείλει
... ὁ πρίγκιπας Γυλιάμος   (4365 ff.)
</div>

'and they found that the Great Lord [the Duke of Athens] had gone from
the Kingdom of France, whither Prince William had sent him'

<div align="center">

οὕτως καθὼς τὸ εἴχασιν συμβουλευτῆ εἰς τὸ πρῶτον   (6640)
</div>

'just as they had first decided'

In two passages one of the MSS of the *Chronicle* has εἶχα + aor.
infin., the other ἤμουν + aorist participle, a clear indication that
εἶχα + aor. infin. is functioning as a pluperfect substitute:

5770	εἶχεν ἐρωτήσεινε	P	ἦτον ἐρωτήσοντα	H
	εἶχεν ἀποθάνει	P	ἦτον ἀποθάνοντα	H

The next step, which was only possible once ἔχω + infin. had been
superseded by periphrases with θέλω in a future sense, was to use
ἔχω + aor. infin. of action completed in the past, i.e. to replace the
ancient perfect. There are already examples of this in the
Chronicle, e.g.

<div align="center">

ὁ κάποιος Φράγκος εὐγενής, ἄνθρωπος παιδεμένος,
ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν ἔχει ἐλθεῖ ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέαν   (4900–1)
</div>

'Some noble Frank, an educated man, has come from the city from the
emperor'

The old future periphrasis with ἔχω + infin. still occurs in the
Chronicle, but significantly almost entirely in subordinate clauses
introduced by νά, e.g.

καὶ θέλω νὰ σᾶς ἔχω εἰπεῖ περὶ τοῦ ῥόϊ Κάρλου   (6773)
'and I wish to tell you about King Charles'

– an interesting conflation of two future periphrases belonging to different stages of the language. In Makhairas's *Chronicle of the sweet land of Cyprus* εἶχα + aor. infin. is regularly used as a pluperfect, e.g. εἶχεν πεθάνειν, εἶχεν πιάσειν, τὸν πύργον τὸν εἶχαν πάρειν οἱ Τοῦρκοι 'the fort which the Turks had taken'. These are the earliest examples of a construction which did not become firmly established until the seventeenth century, and which in modern Greek provides one of the two alternative perfect forms ἔχω γράψει and ἔχω γραμμένο (relatively rare) 'I have written'.[6]

The language of the vernacular texts shows some uncertainty in regard to personal endings, forms which today either belong to different dialects or are found coexisting only in certain aberrant dialects being used side by side. Thus in the 3rd person plural of present indicative and both subjunctives -ουν and -ουσι are found, in the corresponding tenses of imperfect and aorist indicative -αν and -ασι (and occasionally the purist form -ον), together with -οσαν, whose origin has been discussed (p. 29). As final -ν was labile, we often find forms in -ουνε, -ανε, resulting from an effort to keep the personal ending distinctive, and also to maintain isosyllaby in the plural paradigm. Some modern Greek dialects regularly use these forms. In the medio-passive even greater disorder reigns: side by side with the purist -όμην, -εσο, -ετο, we find -ούμουν, -ούσουν, -όταν (the origin of the vowel -ου is uncertain); side by side with the purist -όμεθα, -εσθε, -οντο we find -όμεστα (by analogy with 2nd person plural), -εστε (by phonetic development), -ουνταν (occasionally the hybrid form -ούντασιν if this is not a false vulgarism in Prodromos's poems[7]). In the aorist passive -θηκα replaces -θην (the determining factor is probably the lability of final -ν), and forms with -κ- appear side by side with those without -κ- in the other persons; thus in the 3rd person plural we have -θησαν, -θηκαν, and -θήκασι. In the verbs with final accentuation – the old contract verbs – confusion between original -άω verbs and original -έω verbs has led to the development of a common paradigm, particularly in the medio-passive, e.g. φοβοῦμαι, φοβᾶσαι, φοβᾶται: but forms in -ιέσαι, -ιέται are also found, e.g. πουλειέται,

[6] Cf. on this development Aerts (1965) 178–83.
[7] Cf. Ruge (1973).

ἀγωνιέσαι.[8] The imperfect of verbs with final accentuation is variously formed; in -οῦσα, -οῦσας, -οῦσε etc. on the analogy of the 3rd person plural -οῦσαν; in-αγα, -αγας, -αγε, etc. Modern dialects show a great variety of formations for this tense, and the Asia Minor dialects have developed a number of patterns unknown elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world.[9]

The existence in early vernacular literature of so many alternative verbal forms poses problems to which at present we can give no answer. The purist forms may be eliminated as due to scholarly and literary influence. But did -ουν and -ουσι, -ετον and -οταν really coexist in living speech? They were certainly living forms in different parts of the Greek-speaking world.[10] This brings before us the problem of the origin of the common spoken language of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Does it go back to a common spoken language of at any rate the urban population in late Byzantine times, which is reflected, however imperfectly, in the language of the early vernacular poetry? Or do these poets write in an artificial amalgam of forms belonging to different dialects, which they have heard on the lips of uneducated speakers? In other words, is their poetry a kind of incompetent attempt to imitate living speech by men whose only familiar mode of expression was the literary language? To answer a blunt 'yes' or 'no' to any of these questions would be to over-simplify the matter. But I am inclined – along with many others – to suppose that there was in late Byzantine times a common spoken language in the capital and in urban areas linked with it, a common tongue in which a great many alternative forms, belonging historically to different dialects, were acceptable. Men from all over the Greek world mingled in Constantinople as they did nowhere else.

In the sphere of syntax the most important development of the period is that all prepositions are now constructed with the accusative case. Thus in the Prodromic poems we find in successive lines (3.38–9) ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας 'from the church' and ἀπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον 'from dawn'; in the *Chronicle of the Morea* we find μὲ τὸν ρόϊ 'with the king', μετ' αὐτήν 'with her' (both in the sense of 'with, in the company of'), ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλογον 'from the horse', in two

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[8] On Modern Greek usage regarding personal endings in contract verbs cf. the interesting survey in Ebbesen (1979).

[9] Cf. Kontosopoulos (1981) 9.

[10] Chatzidakis (1905) 37.

successive lines (2496–7) μὲ τὴν βουλὴν ὅπου εἶχεν 'with the plan he
had' and μετὰ χαρᾶς 'with joy', ἐκ τὸν φόβον 'out of fear', ἀπάνω
τους 'above them'; in *Libistros and Rhodamne* we find ἀπὸ χώραν
'from land', μὲ τὸ λιτάριν 'with the pebble', ἐκ τὰ δάκρυα 'from
tears', in two successive lines (947–8) μὲ τὸ βουκέντριν 'with the ox-
goad', μετὰ γραμμάτων 'with a letter'; in the *History of Belisarius*
we find δίχως ταραχήν 'without disturbance', μὲ τὰ χρυσᾶ
κουδούνια 'with golden bells', ἐκ τὴν χαράν 'from joy', μετὰ τὸν
Βελισάριον (= with B.); in the poems of Dellaportas we find μὲ
λύπην 'with grief', ἀντὶς ἐμέ 'instead of me', ἐκ τὴν πικρὰν τὴν
συμφοράν 'from grievous woe'. The examples of the accusative are
so much more numerous that the use of the genitive should be
regarded as due to the influence of the literary language, rather
than as a genuine alternative in spoken Greek. As a result the
ancient distinctions between μετά + gen. 'with' and μετά + acc.
'after', διά + genitive 'by means of' and διά + acc. 'on account of',
κατά + gen. 'against' and κατά + acc. 'along, in accordance with',
παρά + gen. 'from' and παρά + accus. 'contrary to, along', etc. were
effaced. This is no doubt the explanation of the growth of
compound prepositions, which is particularly marked in the
period under discussion. When με(τά) + acc. takes over the sense
of 'with', the old meaning of μετά + acc. is expressed by ὕστερ' ἀπό
and the like. Similarly μέσα εἰς replaces the lost ἐντός + gen. Some
of the inherited prepositions pass out of use in this period, except
in clichés; such are ἀνά, ἐπί (replaced by ἐπάνω εἰς), κατά, περί, πρό,
πρός, σύν, ὑπέρ, ὑπό.[11]

In the matter of vocabulary, one has a first impression that the
period under discussion saw an immense enrichment both by
derivation and by borrowing, as well as a number of semantic
changes. This impression is probably to some extent misleading.
For the first time since men stopped writing their private letters
in Greek in Egypt, we have an extensive corpus of texts written in
a language approaching the vernacular. Much of what was
previously not recorded in writing comes to the surface. It is now
clear that most of the features first met with in the early vernacular
literature from the twelfth century on are in fact of much more

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[11] On the history of the prepositions in medieval Greek there is much material to
be found in Jannaris (1897) 365–99. But a systematic study of the usage of the
various texts is still a desideratum. On the dative case and its replacements cf.
Trapp (1965).

ancient date, though in the absence of contemporary evidence any attempt to date any one with precision is impossible. However certain classes of loan-words can be dated, e.g. terms of feudal law borrowed from French, which are not likely to have entered Greek in any number before 1204.

The derivational suffixes listed in the previous chapter continued productive, and certain other suffixes became increasingly productive, e.g. -ίτσι(ον), -ούτσι(ον), -ούτσικος (these two of Italian origin). Compound words of all kinds are very frequent. Many of them are clearly nonce-formations, which bear witness to the 'open-ended' character of the vocabulary of medieval and modern Greek. An examination of 100 lines each of various near-vernacular texts of the period shows the following compounds which appear to be new – in the absence of lexica to these and other medieval Greek texts an impressionistic treatment is all that is possible.

(a) *Prodromic poems*
ταντανοτραγάτης
πρωτοβαβά
φιλεύσπλαγχνος
ψυχοκρατῶ
κοντασφίκτουρος
τριψιδογαροπίπερον
ἀγιόθρουμβον
πρασομάρουλον
χρυσολάχανον
φρυγιοκράμβιν
καρικοκουκουνάρια
στραγαλοσταφίδες
τσουκαλολάγηνα
χουρδούβελα
καθαροκόσκινον
κηροστούπιν
πηγαδόσχοινον
χαμομηλέλαιον
ἀγριοσταφίδα
λυσσομάμμουδον
τραυματάλειμμα
λυκοκαυκαλιάζω
σπαταλοκρομμύδη
μονόκυθρον
παστομαγειρία
μεσονέφριν

(b) *Chronicle of the Morea*
σαγιτολάσι
φτωχολογία
ῥουχολογῶ
ἀρχοντολόγι

(c) *Libistros and Rhodamne*
παιδόπουλος
ἡλιογεννημένος
μυριοχάριτες
λαμπροχρωματισμένος
ποθοακαταδούλωτος
ἐρημοτοπία
ἀντιπεριπλέκομαι
ἐρωτικοκάρδιος
λογισμομαχῶ
ὁλοανασκέπαστος
ἐρημότοπος
θαλασσοβράχι
δαιμονογυρεύω

(d) *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*
δακτυλιδόπουλος
χρυσογνήματος
παμπλούμιστος
μισθαργός
σφυρηλάτημα
ἀκροπύργωμα

λιθομάργαρος
πυργόδωμα

(e) *Imberios and Margarona*
ἀργυροπεταλᾶτος
χρυσοτσάπωτος
κιτρινόχρους
ἀγγελοσουσσουμίαστος
λαμπροαρματωμένος
συσσελοαρματωμένος

(f) *Trojan War*
(the alleged adaptation of Benoît
de Sainte-Maure's poem, of
which only a small part has been
published)
ξενοχάραγος
περιμουσειωμένος
μυρεψικός
βαλσαμόλαιον
λιθομάργαρος

(g) *Achilleid*
φεγγαρομεγαλόφθαλμος
κοκκινοπλουμόχειλος

μαργαροχιονόδοντος
γλυκόσταμα
κοκκινομάγουλος
κρυσταλλοκιονοτράχηλος
στρογγυλοειμορφοπήγουλος
ζαχαρογλυκερᾶτος
ποθοπερίβολος
μοσχόδενδρον
ροδόσταμα
καρδιοφλόγιστος

(h) *Leonardos Dellaportas*
δολοσυκοφαντία
κλωθογυρίζω
συχνοαναστέναμα
ζηλοφθονία
εὐτυχοτυχία
πικροδυστυχία
μυρωσκορπίζω
ἐπινόμι
καρδιογνώστης
λαμπροευδοξότατος
μεγαλοευγενέστασος[12]

Similar lists could be prepared from other near-vernacular texts.
As in classical and Hellenistic Greek, the great majority of these
compounds are determinative, and the order of the elements is
that of classical Greek, i.e. the governing element precedes the
governed, if it represents a noun or adjective, and follows it if it
represents a verb. There are, however, many exceptions to this
rule. In particular compounds with a first verbal element become
common during the period under discussion, e.g. γλειφομελοῦσα,
σβηνοκάνδηλας 'candle-snuffer', σπαταλοκρομμύδης 'onion-
waster', σχιζοχάρτης 'paper-cutter', κοψόρρινος 'with nose cut
off'. Compound verbs with a nominal first element represent-
ing the object of the verb or some adverbial qualification become
very common, e.g. ψυχοκρατῶ, λυκοκαυκαλιάζω, ῥουχολογῶ,
λογομαχῶ. They are not necessarily, as they are in earlier periods,
denominatives formed from a compound noun.

In the later middle ages direct borrowings from Latin virtually
cease. Latin was no longer the vernacular tongue of any region

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[12] On such of these words as begin with α to κ cf. Kriaras (1968–).

within the empire or outside its frontiers, its role as an official or administrative language was limited. The Latin acclamations at the imperial court and the Latin subscriptions to documents issued by the imperial Chancellery are by now mere fossilised survivals, like the Norman-French phrases used by English lawyers. On the other hand the growing influence of western Europe, and the administration by western European powers of large regions of Greek speech, lead to extensive borrowings from Italian – mainly Venetian dialect – and French.[13] These Romance loan-words are mainly cultural borrowings, i.e. they are names for imported objects and concepts, and do not replace existing Greek words. We have no direct evidence, but it is reasonable to suppose that Italian loan-words were particularly common in areas under Venetian or Genoese rule, such as Crete, Euboea and many of the Cyclades, French loan-words in areas under French rule, such as the Peloponnese, and above all Cyprus. Terms of feudal law and land-tenure tend to be borrowed from French, those referring to arts and crafts and nautical terms are more usually of Italian origin. The great majority of these loan-words are nouns, and they are generally adapted to some Greek pattern – exceptions are mainly titles and other quasi-proper nouns such as μισίρ, μισέρ (= monsieur). Verbs are not easily borrowed into Greek, because of the necessity of providing two stems. The relatively few verbs borrowed from Romance – or formed from Romance loan-words – are formed with the productive suffixes -άρω,[14] -ίζω, -εύω, to which regular aorist stems correspond. In spite of the first impression conveyed by certain texts, the extent of borrowing from Romance languages at this period was limited. These loan-words seldom became as much an integral part of the language as did the Latin loan-words of an earlier period. In particular they provided hardly any productive suffixes used for derivation from Greek stems: such Romance suffixes as -άδος, -έλλα, -έλλο, -έττο, -έσσα, -ῖνος are scarcely used except in Romance loan-words. A check of 100 lines each from a number of early vernacular texts revealed the following French and Italian borrowings:

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[13] The principal study of loan-words in medieval Greek is still Triantaphyllides (1909); cf. also Contosopoulos (1978).

[14] Verbs in -άρω (from Italian -are) regularly form their aorist in -άρισα.

Chronicle of the Morea	*Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*
καβαλάρος, καβαλαρός	ἐξόμπλιον (exemple)
μισίρ	
ρόϊ	*Belthandros and Chrysantza*
λίζιος (liege)	φλισκίνα (piscina)
κουγκεστίζω (regularly formed	*Trojan War*
verb from loan-word κουγκέστα)	τσάμπρα (chambre)

Libistros and Rhodamne	*Achilleid*
τέντα	φισκίνα
σουκανιά	κουρτέσα
	φάλκων

Comparison with the similar lists of new compound words on pp. 84–5 underlines the fact that the great extension of the Greek vocabulary evident in this period was attained mainly by the use of Greek resources and not by lexical borrowing, in spite of the prestige which French and Italian enjoyed as languages of government. The main exception to this general formulation is in connection with maritime terms. These are very largely of Italian origin, and were often taken over from Greek into Turkish, Arabic, and to a lesser degree Russian. They formed a part of the lingua franca, an international mercantile and maritime vocabulary – it has not the structural features of a language – used throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea until the nineteenth century.[15]

[15] Cf. Kahane and Tietze (1958).

5   *Greek in the Turkish period*

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 and the end of the Byzantine empire did not change significantly the conditions in which the Greek language was used. Tendencies previously existing were only strengthened. 'Serious' literature continued to be written exclusively in the learned tongue, or as near an approximation to it as authors could attain. Literature in the spoken tongue, or in a language with many features of the spoken tongue, was almost confined to poetry. This poetry was not folk-poetry. It may have been orally composed in some cases, but in general it was not. Its authors, and also its readers or hearers, often belonged to the most prosperous and cultured elements of society. But it did not enjoy the prestige which a composition in the literary tongue would have enjoyed, and therefore men were careless of its linguistic form. In any case there was no standard of correct usage other than that of the grammarians, which was wholly inappropriate to literature in the vernacular. Just as some of Petrarch's contemporaries – and sometimes Petrarch himself – esteemed his boring and derivative Latin epic *Africa* above the Italian poems of the *Canzoniere*, so Greek society – for all the pleasure which we know it took in vernacular poetry – felt that it did not merit the care in copying and transmission that were given to works in the learned tongue.[1]

But here the resemblance between Greece and Italy ends. By Petrarch's time Italy already had a national language – *lingua toscana in bocca romana* – though it was not exactly the mother tongue of any community. Greece had to wait until the nineteenth century for a national language, and indeed in a sense it has not got one yet. The story of the struggle to forge a national language for the new nation state belongs to the following chapter. In the meantime let us consider briefly the situation in the period from the middle of the fifteenth century until the end of the eighteenth.

[1] On many aspects of the Greek language in the period of Turkish rule cf. Thavoris (1971).

The considerable emigration of Greeks from Constantinople to regions still outside Turkish control probably helped the spread of the spoken language of the capital to more distant regions, and thus furthered the development of a common spoken language. But at the same time, since this language was not the vehicle of a literature which enjoyed esteem, and was not taught in schools, its spread was hindered and the maintenance of dialect differences encouraged. The Turkish administration favoured decentralisation and isolation of provinces one from another. And the same is true of the existence of many regions under western rule, each of which looked to Italy or France for cultural patterns rather than to Constantinople. The city was no longer the centre of a Greek-speaking empire. Its intellectuals, some of whom from the early seventeenth century played an important role in the administration of the Ottoman empire, worked in a foreign linguistic environment, and used the learned tongue. The only intellectuals in the Turkish-ruled provinces were the clergy, who felt themselves to be the heirs of the Byzantine empire and used its classicising literary language for all but the most ephemeral communications. This kind of purism was all the easier in Greece, since the divergence between the learned and the spoken tongue was much less than in countries of Romance speech.

What we therefore find in the centuries of Turcocratia is a series of centres of vernacular literature, each showing greater or less dialect features in its linguistic form. They are all outside of the Ottoman empire, not because men no longer composed poetry under the Turks – the klephtic ballads (folk-songs celebrating the exploits and ideals of the armed bands who took to the mountains to resist the Turks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; cf. R. Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece*, Cambridge 1980, 102–11) are evidence of a flourishing oral poetry – but because on the whole the literate elements of Greek society under the Ottomans were not interested in this kind of literature. And of course there were far fewer men able to read and write under the Turks than, say, under the Venetians. They were also cut off from the direct influences of the Renaissance which were so strong in Venetian Crete or Lusignan Cyprus.[2]

[2] On the Greek vernacular literature of the Turkish period cf. Knös (1962), where a full bibliography will be found; Dimaras (1967) and vols. 2 and 3 of Politis (1965–7) contain extensive excerpts from most of the texts mentioned and many others, with full references to manuscripts and editions.

Moving from East to West, we begin with Cyprus, where dialect features early manifest themselves in vernacular literature. The *Chronicle* of Georgios Boustronios (†c.1501) continues that of Makhairas. A collection of love poems in the manner of Petrarch is almost a pure dialect text.[3] Cypriot Greek was too divergent from that spoken by the majority of Greeks to form a practical base for a common literary language, just as the language of the early Sicilian poets could not have provided the foundation for the Italian language. In any case Cyprus was conquered by the Turks in 1571, after a long war, and vernacular literature was driven underground, to survive only as folk-literature.

The next centre was the Dodecanese, and in particular Rhodes. From here we have several poems by Emmanuel Georgillas at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and a collection of love songs, less directly Italian in manner than the Cypriot poems.[4] With the conquest of the Dodecanese in 1522 this literature too ceases.

The third and most important centre was Crete, which remained under Venetian rule until 1669. Many refugees from Constantinople settled there shortly after the fall of the city. A moving lament for the capture of Constantinople, often thought to be composed in Crete, is more probably Dodecanesian. But by the beginning of the sixteenth century, vernacular literature was flourishing in Crete.[5] Manuel Sklavos' poem on the earthquake of 1508 was composed immediately after the event. George Choumnos' metrical paraphrase of Genesis dates from a decade or two earlier.[6] The autobiographical poems of Stephanos Sakhlikis belong to the early sixteenth century. The poems of Marinos Phalieros are now known to belong to the fifteenth century.[7] Less easily datable are the poems of Ioannes Pikatoros and the *Apokopos* of Bergades, a vision of Hell which owes nothing to Dante. There is also much minor poetry of the sixteenth century. By the end of the century we find the beginnings of a school of drama under strong Italian influence. The principal names are those of Georgios Chortatzis and Vintsentzos Kornaros. To one or other

[3] Edited with French translation and full introduction by Siapkaras-Pitsillides (1952).

[4] These are edited by Hesseling and Pernot (1913) and by Pernot (1931).

[5] On this Cretan literature cf. Embiricos (1960), as well as the works by Knös (1962) and Dimaras (1967) cited above. There is a useful bibliography by M. Manoussakas (1953). In English the best introduction is Morgan (1960).

[6] Now edited by Megas (1975).

[7] Cf. Bakker and van Gemert (1972), (1977), van Gemert (1973), (1980).

of these are to be attributed in all probability the tragedies *Erophile*, *Rodolinos*, *Zeno*, and *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, and the comedies *Katzourbos*, *Stathes*, *Fortunatos* and *Gypares*. Kornaros is also author of a long romantic narrative poem *Erotokritos*, which represents the high point of Cretan literature.[8] *The Beautiful Shepherdess* (Ἡ ὡραία βοσκοπούλα), a pastoral poem owing much to Italian influence but full of local colour, is probably to be dated in the early sixteenth century. The earlier of these Cretan texts are written in the inherited amalgam of spoken Greek and flosculi from the learned tongue characteristic of the popular poetry of the late Byzantine period, with only occasional and unsystematic use of dialect features. For instance *The Beautiful Shepherdess* uses both the common demotic and the Cretan forms of the enclitic personal pronoun in successive lines – ἡ ὀμορφιά τζη, τὸ κορμί της, the Cretan form ἴντα and the common demotic form τί of the interrogative pronoun, etc. By the time of Chortatzis and Kornaros a process of purification has taken place, and few specifically non-Cretan forms are to be found, although in the matter of vocabulary borrowings are freely made from the learned language. This new literary language in embryo is based on the spoken Greek of east Crete, but also admits west Cretan forms, e.g. 3rd person plural present indicative of verbs in *-ουσι* as against east Cretan *-ουν(ε)*, and in the imperfect and aorist *-ασι* as against east Cretan *-αν(ε)*,[9] west Cretan syllabic augment ἠ- where east Cretan uses ἐ-, ἤφυγα for ἔφυγα, negatived future in δὲν θὰ plus subjunctive as against east Cretan δὰ μὴ plus subjunctive. It will be seen that the west Cretan forms most commonly admitted are precisely those which are also current in common demotic. The *Erotokritos* shows the purest east Cretan dialect, but even here west Cretan and common demotic forms are not infrequent.[10]

With the capture of Candia by the Turks in 1669 this flourishing Cretan literature, and the new literary language based upon the

[8] The best edition of the *Erotokritos* is still that of A. Xanthoudides (Heraklion 1915), with a long introduction and a study of the language. The text of Xanthoudides without his introduction and commentary has been reprinted in paper-back form (Athens 1962 and later. There is an English translation by Mavrogordato (Oxford, 1929)).

[9] *-ουσι, -ασι* appear to survive in Crete today only in the region of Sphakia. Cf. Kontosopoulos (1981) 27.

[10] On the language of the *Erotokritos* cf. the chapter by G. N. Chatzidakes in Xanthoudides' edition. There are also many interesting observations in the rich but rather chaotic book of Pankalos (1955–60).

spoken tongue of Crete, came to an end. Sweeping changes took place in Cretan society, of which the conversion to Islam of significant elements of the Greek-speaking population is a symptom. Cretan is not an archaic and peripheral dialect like Cypriot, and Crete might well have been the Toscana of modern Greece. But the disunity of the Greek-speaking world, and the lack of prestige of vernacular literature as compared with that in the learned tongue, as well as the general low cultural level of the Greek communities in the Ottoman empire, made the situation of Greece fundamentally different from that of Italy. The snuffing out of Cretan Greek literature in the second half of the seventeenth century only made impossible what had been in any case highly improbable.

A fourth centre of Greek literature was in the Ionian islands, held by Venice until the Napoleonic wars, and never subject to the Ottoman empire. In the sixteenth century we have poems by Koroneas of Zakynthos and Iakovos Trivolis of Corfu, a paraphrase of the *Iliad* in semi-vernacular Greek by Loukanios of Zakynthos, an adaptation of the *Theseid* of Boccaccio by an unknown poet, and a number of other works. After 1669 many Cretans fled to the Ionian islands, bringing with them their songs and their literary tradition. But by this time the upper classes of the Ionian islands, so close to Italy and on the main trade routes of Venice, had become Italianised. Italian rather than Greek was the language of public intercourse in Corfu and the other towns. Hence there was not the urban public for vernacular literature that there had been in Crete. But Greek poetry, and the common language in which it was composed, survived among the country people and was by them communicated from time to time to the Italianate society of the towns. When, under the twin influences of the Romantic movement and the struggle for national liberation, the generation of Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857) sought to break away from the dead hand of the Byzantine learned language and to create a new national language for the renascent Greek people, based on the spoken tongue, they found in the Ionian islands of which Solomos and others were natives, a living tradition of literature in vernacular Greek, which, though it survived on the lips of humble peasants, went back through Venetian Crete and the vernacular literature of the late Byzantine world to the first creative breakthrough of the spoken tongue in the twelfth century.

In addition to works of literature we have one or two descriptions of the spoken language from this period. The earliest is the grammar by Nikolaos Sophianos of Corfu, written in the first half of the sixteenth century.[11] There are grammars by Girolamo Germano (1622)[12] and Simon Portius (1632).[13] These all include elements from the learned language, and Sophianos describes specific features of his native dialect. But they nevertheless provide – and this is particularly true of Sophianos – a coherent account of a common spoken language with variants. An unpublished grammar by Romanos Nikephoros (seventeenth century) contains many interesting observations on regional differences in speech.[14] At the beginning of the eighteenth century Alessio de Somavera (Father Alexis de Sommevoir, a French Capuchin from Haute-Marne who spent many years in Constantinople, Smyrna and elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world) published the first lexicon of vernacular Greek.[15]

The main features of modern Greek had already taken shape before the fifteenth century. There are no phonological changes to record from the Turkish period, though no doubt in the process of dialect differentiation they did occur. One of the effects of the diglossy of the period was the existence of two phonological systems, one native to the spoken tongue, the other occurring in the numerous lexical borrowings from the learned language. The main point of difference is the treatment of -κτ-, -χθ- and -πτ-, -φθ-, preserved in learned loan-words, changed to -χτ- and -φτ- in the spoken tongue; the treatment of final -ν also distinguished spoken from literary Greek phonologically.

In the sphere of morphology we find, so far as our texts permit us to draw general conclusions, a general tightening up of the noun paradigm and elimination of anomalies and variant forms, But all texts, even the relatively homogeneous east Cretan of the *Erotokritos*, show many borrowings from the learned language or from earlier or geographically distinct forms of the spoken tongue, which bring their own morphology with them. One noteworthy regularisation is that of the stress accent in noun and adjective. The dialects still vary in their treatment of this. But the common

[11] Ed. Legrand (1874).
[12] Ed. Pernot (1907).
[13] Ed. Meyer-Lübke (1889).
[14] Cf. Legrand (1874) 14–19.
[15] Alessio da Somavera (1709); cf. **Legrand (1918) 74–7.**

demotic pattern whereby the accent shifts in the substantive according to ancient Greek rules, but remains immobile in the adjective, predominates in the period under review. Thus we have ἄνθρωπος, ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωποι (ἀνθρῶποι is 'vulgar') against ἀνθρώπου, ἀνθρώπους, ἀνθρώπων, but ὄμορφος, ὄμορφη, ὄμορφον, ὄμορφους, etc.

In the definite article the accusative plural feminine τές is more and more frequently replaced by τίς, the normal form in common demotic. But in dialects the older forms τές and even τάς still survive. The change from τές to τίς is probably due to the analogy of the other feminine forms ἡ, τή, τῆς, which proved stronger than that of feminine substantives in -ες.[16]

There are more changes to record in verb morphology. The future periphrasis in θά plus subjunctive, of which the earliest recorded example is probably in the Prologue of the *Chronicle of the Morea* (v. 825), replaces almost completely all other periphrases in the common spoken language, though other periphrases are found in dialects. Curiously enough, Sophianos gives only θέλω γράφει and θέλω γράψει as future forms, and does not mention the θά construction. In fact one can trace the spread of θά plus subjunctive at the expense of other patterns even into the dialects of Asia Minor and the curious dialect of Mariupol. In the period under review the Cretan drama and the *Erotokritos* both use θά plus subjunctive, though in Cretan dialects today, as almost certainly in the seventeenth century, other patterns are in use instead of or side by side with that in θά plus subjunctive.[17]

Two perfect periphrases become established, that in ἔχω plus the aorist infinitive (cf. p. 84), and that in ἔχω plus the perfect participle in -μένος, each having a nuance of its own. The latter is of course only formed from transitive verbs, and is in any case much less frequent in demotic than the former. In the dialects the position is more complex. In some of the peripheral dialects ἔχω plus aorist infinitive is not used. In others a third form is found in ἔχω plus a verbal adjective in -τός. In the Pontic and Cappadocian dialects of Asia Minor neither is found, the perfect being expressed by the aorist indicative accompanied by the rigidified 3rd person singular imperfect of the verb 'to be'; this is probably a relatively recent development due to Turkish influence.[18]

[16] On the development of the definite article cf. Anagnostopoulos (1922), where a great deal of illustrative material is collected.

[17] Pankalos (1955–60) I, 322–4.

[18] Aerts (1965) 168–83.

Side by side with the future in θὰ plus subjunctive we begin to find a potential mood formed by θὰ plus imperfect or aorist indicative. The new potential or conditional form in θὰ plus imperfect or aorist indicative replaces the medieval Greek form εἶχα plus aorist infinitive, which was left isolated once ἔχω plus aorist infinitive had lost its future sense and had become a perfect equivalent. An intermediate stage, or perhaps better a blind alley, is represented by νὰ plus past tense of the indicative, e.g. Prodromic poems (3.211) καὶ τότε νὰ 'δες, δέσποτα, πηδήματα νεωτέρου 'and then, lord, you would see the springing of a youth'. This construction was supported by the use of νὰ plus subjunctive as a future equivalent, itself probably arising out of the use of aorist subjunctive in future sense in Hellenistic Greek. The curious future form found in some dialects today, e.g. in Cretan, νὰ plus subjunctive plus θέλω (inflected) or rigidified θέλε, is probably due to conflation of this νὰ-future and the common demotic future formed with θὰ plus subjunctive. But there is still much that is uncertain in the development of future and conditional forms in modern Greek, owing to the ambiguous nature of the literary sources, the relative absence of dialect texts until the later nineteenth century, and the many gaps in our knowledge of modern Greek dialects today.

There are no changes in syntax to record in the Turkish period so far as common spoken Greek is concerned, other than those at a purely stylistic level, and those already discussed in connection with the formation of periphrastic tenses. In certain of the dialects, however, radical changes took place under the influence of the foreign linguistic environments in which they found themselves spoken. This is particularly true of many of the Asia Minor dialects, a great many of whose speakers were perforce bilingual. Though we have no dialect texts from the period, it is clearly during the centuries between the Turkish conquest and the first recording of dialect texts in the nineteenth century that such changes took place as the adoption of Turkish word-order, with the verb at the end of the sentence, the limitation of the use of the definite article to the accusative, in which case Turkish too distinguishes between definite and indefinite, the suppression of grammatical gender and its attendant syntactic feature of agreement, the development of a syntactical distinction between animate and inanimate substantives, etc.[19] The Greek enclaves in

[19] Mirambel (1955), (1957–8), (1963b), (1964a).

Calabria and Apulia were similarly influenced by Italian. But since the structural differences between Greek and Italian are less striking than those between Greek and Turkish, the changes are less radical. To Italian influence must be attributed such features as the periphrastic passive formed with the verb 'to be' and a passive participle, that formed with the verb *érkome* (ἔρχομαι) and a passive participle on the model of Italian *venne ucciso*, the absence of a distinctive future form, there being none in the South Italian dialects of the surrounding areas, etc.[20] Similarly the now almost extinct Greek of Cargèse, introduced into Corsica by emigrants from Mani in the seventeenth century, has been influenced in its syntactic structure by the Italian dialect of Corsica and by French. It is too early to say whether similar changes are taking place in the Greek of the Cypriot community in London – and in any case it falls outside the period under discussion. Kontosopoulos gives some interesting examples of English influence on the vocabulary and semantics of London Cypriot Greek.[21] Interesting observations have also been made in this connection regarding the speech of the Greek community of Chicago.[22]

In vocabulary the principal source of new words continues to be derivation and composition. Most of the suffixes productive in the later middle ages continue to be productive in the Turkish period. Some, like -άδα (abstracted from Italian dialect loan-words), -ίτσι, -ίτσα, -ίτσης (probably not from Slavonic loan-words, which never seem to have been numerous, but rather by palatalisation of the consonant from -ίκι(ος)), became particularly productive. Two suffixes abstracted from Turkish loan-words became productive, -τζής and -λῆς. Among new compound words we find a great many compound verbs with a substantival or adjectival first element, but to which no compound substantive or adjective corresponds, e.g. γλυκοκοιτάζω, ψευτοζῶ. In classical and Hellenistic, and generally in early Byzantine Greek, compound verbs are either formed with an adverbial first element, or as denominative verbs from a compound substantive or adjective. Another type of compound which first appears in late Hellenistic Greek and which becomes particularly frequent in the period under review is the so-called

[20] Rohlfs (1950) 213–14, 220–1.
[21] Kontosopoulos (1981) 21–2.
[22] Seaman (1972).

dvandva compound, e.g. γιδοπρόβατα 'goats and sheep', μερόνυχτο 'day and night'.[23]

Loan-words from the Romance languages of the Mediterranean continue to enter Greek, particularly in regions under western political control. European cultural words are usually borrowed in their Italian form, occasionally in their French form. A new source of loan-words is Turkish. The Greek of mainland Greece and Asia Minor of the period becomes filled with Turkish words, in the first place social, political and religious terms, but also, and particularly in Asia Minor, where the Greek-speaking population was often bilingual, extending to all areas of the vocabulary. Turkish loan-words in common demotic are almost exclusively substantives; they are adapted to Greek morphology as neuters in -ι or in -ές if they are names of things, and as masculines in -ᾶς or -ῆς if they are names of persons. The Asia Minor dialects, being under longer and closer Turkish influence, have not only a great many more Turkish loan-words than common demotic but actually borrow Turkish verbs, which are adapted in various ways to the requirements of Greek morphology. The following list of Turkish loan-words, all of which are still in living use today, though the occasions for the use of many of them have become infrequent, give an idea of semantic spheres in which such loan-words were commonest.[24]

House, household goods etc.
κονάκι 'hostelry'
σεντούκι 'trunk'
σοφρᾶς 'table'
φυτύλι 'wick'
τουλούμι 'leather bottle'
τέντζερες 'cauldron'

Clothing and personal effects etc.
φέσι 'fez'
γελέκι 'waistcoat'
γιακᾶς 'collar'
παπούτσια 'shoes'

Food and drink
πιλάφι 'pilaf'
γιαούρτι 'yoghourt'

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[23] Cf. Andriotis (1980).
[24] The list is substantially taken from Costas (1936) 119–20.

γιαχνί 'dish of tomatoes and
onions'
καπαμᾶς 'casserole of meat and
tomatoes'
καφές 'coffee'
ναργιλές 'nargileh'
χαλβᾶς 'halva'

Man and family
μπόι 'stature'
νάζι 'archness'
κέφι 'humour'
λεβέντης 'handsome youth'
ἀφέντης 'effendi'

Military and administrative
τουφέκι 'rifle'
μπαρούτη 'gun-powder'
γιαταγάνι 'yataghan'
παρᾶς 'coin'
χατζῆς 'hadji'

Arts and crafts
γλέντι 'party, celebration'
τέλι 'wire'
ἀμανές 'oriental song'
λαβοῦτο 'lute'

Significant absentees from this list are agricultural and pastoral
terms, animal and plant names, general geographical and topo-
graphical terms, and abstract terms. Turkish influence was exerted
through the towns, and not in the agricultural countryside, as was
Slavonic influence, or in the mountain pastures, as was the in-
fluence of the Vlachs.

It is in texts of this period, though not in the poetic texts which
approach most closely to the vernacular, that we first meet those
linguistic calques, i.e. adaptation of Greek words, whether in their
popular or their literary form, to cover the whole of the semantic
field of a foreign word – usually French in this case – only part of
which they previously covered, and formation of new Greek words
by composition or derivation expressly as translations of foreign
words. Examples of the former are ἔκφρασις 'expression', ἐξασκεῖ
ἐπιρροήν 'il exerce une influence', of the latter ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία
'encyclopédie'. These calques are part of the adaptation of Greek
to the modes of thought and expression of the Enlightenment, and
often first appeared in the writings of Greek intellectuals from the

Danubian Principalities.[25] The second process has a unique aspect in Greek, inasmuch as modern Greek scientific terminology consists largely of compounds formed from Greek elements designed to correspond to French or English compounds, themselves formed from Greek elements. This means that a great many Greek compound words are first formed in a language other than Greek. There is a similar situation in regard to Chinese compounds first found in Japanese. The question of calques and of Greek words of foreign origin will be taken up in detail in the discussion of the vocabulary of present-day Greek.

[25] Cf. Henderson (1971), especially 1–52, Camariano-Cioran (1974) *passim*. On French influence in particular cf. Contosopoulos (1978).

6 *The development of the national language* [1]

In the late middle ages and the early centuries of the Turkish period the common spoken language of the Byzantine empire lived on, but tended more and more to become regionally differentiated. It was impoverished in abstract terms and ill-adapted to serve as a vehicle of higher culture. The Greek upper classes of Constantinople and of other cities in the Ottoman empire, and the Orthodox church, used for all official and literary purposes the traditional learned language, which was essentially late Atticising Koine. New literary languages, based upon the dialects of particular regions but strongly influenced by the common spoken language began to be formed in parts of the Greek world where the conditions favoured an active cultural life. The only one of these to attain any degree of maturity was that of the Cretan literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But even in Crete the favourable conditions did not last long enough for a national language, parallel to those of western Europe, to arise.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the political and intellectual prospects of the Greek subjects of the Ottoman empire changed dramatically. The influence of the European Enlightenment – often channelled through the University of Padua or through the academies established by the rulers of the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia – and the example of the French, and to a lesser extent of the American, Revolution put the questions of political liberty and of freedom of thought and expression on the order of the day. At the same time the weakening of the Ottoman empire, its expulsion from central Europe, and its loss of control of the Black Sea to the Russians opened up two opposing perspectives, the first that of the establishment of a Greek national state, the second that of a

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[1] On the whole of this chapter cf. Caratzas (1958b). On the historical background cf. Henderson (1971); Svoronos (1972); Diamandouros and others (1976); Petropoulos (1978). On the origin and growth of the Greek communities in Europe and Africa cf. Psyroukis (1974).

virtual takeover of power within the empire by its Christian subjects, led by the Greeks. The beginnings of the industrial revolution and the extension of western European trade brought many Greek communities into closer contact with the European world than in the preceding centuries. Many Greeks became drawn into the expanding economy of western Europe, either as agents of foreign firms in the Ottoman empire, or as members of the growing Greek communities in Russian and western European cities who were engaged in import and export trade with the east. All these factors stimulated the spread of ideas and the multiplication of books. More and more was being translated into Greek or written in Greek on every topic from metaphysics and politics to science and technology. These books were written in various mixtures of spoken Greek and the literary language, without any marked dialect features, but with little unity of form.

It was against this background that the Language Question, which has been in the forefront of Greek cultural and political controversy ever since, was first posed.[2] A number of answers were given at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. The conservatives, who were against the struggle for liberation and preached obedience to the Sultan, the sovereign set over the Greek people by God, were naturally linguistic conservatives also. For them the only national language was the traditional learned language, as used by the Phanariot nobility and the Orthodox hierarchy. Their spokesman, Panagiotes Kodrikás, had few followers, and the tendency which he represented seemed doomed to failure. In fact, by an irony of history, many of his aims were realised by his bitterest opponents, as we shall see.

Among those who equated nation and people, and who therefore favoured a national language based on the speech of the people, there were various tendencies. Some, who were influenced by western rationalism and classicism, saw in the speech of the Greeks of their own time a form of ancient Greek corrupted by centuries of slavery. For them the only possible course was to write off the middle ages and to go back to ancient Greek as the true national language. This somewhat utopian programme they believed could be realised once national independence had been attained. Then the Greek people, who had been the leaders and teachers of the world, would regain its rightful position and

[2] Megas (1925), Kordatos (1943); Banfi (1978) – a particularly useful study.

speak with its true voice. Needless to say, nothing which could be called literature resulted from this movement. Its leading figures were Eugenios Voulgaris (1716–1806), Stephanis Kommetas (†1814), Dimitrios Darvaris (1757–1823), Neophytos Doukas (c. 1760–1845), Konstantinos Oikonomos (1780–1857).

Another group, at whose head stood the patriot and scholar Adamantios Korais (1743–1833), took the spoken language of their own time as their starting point, but wished to purify it.[3] This purification was not to be limited to the rejection of Turkish loan-words and of the more aberrant dialect features, but was to extend to phonology, morphology and syntax. Only a language capable of expressing all the nuances of meaning, and equally understood by all, was a suitable instrument for the intellectual emancipation of the people. This 'purified' spoken Greek was to be the vehicle of education in the new Greece, freed from the Turkish yoke. Archaism, kicked out by the door, was coming in by the window. Korais's purified spoken Greek was sometimes remarkably like the traditional language of his opponent Kodrikás, though there were a number of shibboleths by which they could be distinguished. To take an example, 'fish' in common spoken Greek is ψάρι; Korais would introduce the 'pure' (i.e. archaistic) form ὀψάριον, while the extreme archaists and Kodrikás would alike favour ἰχθύς, the classical word. The only important literary monument of Kórais' school was the collection of his own letters, published after his death. But the influence of his ideas, often seized upon in a partisan fashion which he would have himself disowned, was great in the half-century after his death.

A third group, inspired by belief in democracy and conscious that it was upon the basis of the 'unpurified' vernacular speech that most western European national languages had been built, wished to turn their backs on the traditional learned language and to make the tongue of the common people the national language, whose native resources would be developed to provide the new terms necessary. This was what the poets of the Ionian islands were already doing, and steps in this direction had already been taken by writers like Iosepas Mysiodax (1730–1800), Demetrios Katartzís (1720–1807) and others. One of the problems was the lack of uniformity of the spoken tongue. Ioannes Vilaras of

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[3] Cf. Roṭolo (1965), Bien (1972). Examples of Korais's sometimes unhappy compromises are provided by Banfi (1978) 418.

Jannina (1771–1823) published his *Romaic Grammar* in 1814,[4] seeking to codify rigorously the orthography, morphology and syntax of the vernacular in order to fit it to play its new role as a national language and the vehicle of national education. In spite of his aims, his work is not free from dialect features.

This was the situation on the eve of the Uprising of 1821, as a result of which a Greek state was created. During the years of the war of liberation there were considerable movements of population, as revolutionary fighters from various parts of Greece and from Greek communities abroad came together, in particular in the Peloponnese. It was in the Peloponnese, at Nauplion, that a provisional administration was set up in 1828, around which there gathered emigrants from Constantinople as well as Greeks from every region of Greece. There grew up there in those years a new common language, based on the dialects of the Peloponnese, but with a good many Ionian features. Peloponnesian Greek was well fitted to be the basis of a national language. Without either the radical phonetic changes of northern Greek or the archaic features of Cretan or Cypriot, it was easily understood by all Greeks, and was sufficiently close to the language of late Byzantine and post-Byzantine vernacular literature to be acceptable to all as a common tongue. And in addition the distinguished part played by the Peloponnesians in the war of liberation gave it a new prestige in the eyes of their contemporaries. Thus when in 1833 Athens became the capital of the new state, it was the Peloponnesian koine that became the language of ordinary intercourse among the new citizens who flocked thither from every part of the Greek world. The native population of Athens, which in any case scarcely reached 10,000, was swamped by the newcomers, and the dialect of Athens, which belonged to a rather archaic group spoken in Attica, the Megarid, Aegina and parts of Euboea, was soon replaced by the common spoken tongue.

It might have been expected that this common spoken tongue, with a Peloponnesian basis, would be gradually freed from the traces of the dialect of the Ionian islands which it still retained and would become the national language, used for official purposes, in education, and in literature of all kinds. But things turned out otherwise. The years after the establishment of the state of Greece were a period of political reaction, during which the emerging

[4] Vilaras (1814).

ruling class rejected the rationalist and democratic spirit which
had animated the generation of the liberation. This ruling class
consisted to an ever-growing degree of wealthy Phanariots from
Constantinople and their hangers-on, men wedded to the
traditional learned tongue and fearful of the political implications
of its rejection in favour of the speech of the mass of the people.
Under their influence archaism became the order of the day.
Korais' conception of the 'purification' of the language of the
people was carried to absurd extremes, and put into effect in a
spirit very different from that of Korais. Poetry continued to be
written mainly in demotic[5] – and in any case the Ionian islands,
where Solomos still lived and wrote, did not form part of the
Kingdom of Greece and were relatively immune to the baneful
influence which spread from Athens. But even in this context it is
significant that Aristotelís Valaoritis (1824–1879), a native of
Levkas and a relation of Solomos, whose literary heir and
successor he became, saw fit to accompany his poems in demotic
with a commentary in the archaising katharevousa.[6] For it is in
this period that the diglossy which, as we have seen, existed in the
Greek-speaking world from Hellenistic times, took the form in
which we are familiar with it today, a polarisation into demotic
and katharevousa. This katharevousa is not the traditional
Atticising Koine of Byzantine culture, which was at least the
language of organisations and institutions which had remained in
existence through centuries and millennia, though few children
ever learned it at their mother's knee – we may perhaps make an
exception for the children of Anna Comnena, the imperial
historian of the twelfth century, who was so proud of her
archaising and erudite language. The katharevousa was created in
the second quarter of the nineteenth century by progressive
'purification' of the new demotic, and introduction of more and
more elements from the learned tongue. It is always macaronic in
character, mingling together incongruously old and new, and
studded with false archaisms, hypercorrect forms, and mere
blunders. This was the language used for administration and
education, in journalism and public life, and in almost all prose
writing, literary or scientific, until the end of the nineteenth

[5] A recent and perceptive study – Gounelas (1980) – discussed some of the
problems met and solved by nineteenth-century poets in their use of demotic
Greek.
[6] Valaoritis (1955).

century. It had to be learned as a foreign language, it was imprecise, vacuous and inordinately fond of calques, and its existence and the prestige which it enjoyed did much to hold back the intellectual and artistic development of the people. It was never uniform. Some writers used the ancient Greek future forms, not always correctly, others the periphrastic future in θὰ of demotic, others θέλω plus infinitive; the dative case, obsolete ancient Greek prepositions, the negative particle οὐ etc. were used to a varying degree by different writers and by the same writer on different occasions. Writers and speakers watched one another narrowly and critically, ready to seize upon the least concession to 'the vulgar tongue'. There were extreme archaisers like the lexicographer S. Vyzantios and the novelist, dramatist and grammarian Panayotis Soutsos, who wanted to restore ancient Attic – the former thought it would take 100 to 150 years, the latter believed thirty years enough![7] And there were moderates like Konstantinos Asopios (1789–1872), Spyridon Trikoupes (1788–1873), and Demetrios Mavrophrydes, who saw some virtue in the popular tongue. But all alike were engaged in a contest of purity – like so many different brands of detergent – in which one had to go further than one's rivals. So for a phrase like 'if I cannot', we find a series of more and more 'pure' renderings, which depart more and more from the linguistic feeling of the ordinary Greek: ἄν δὲν μπορῶ (normal spoken Greek) ἄν δὲν ἠμπορῶ (old-fashioned spoken Greek, or dialect) ἄν δὲν δύναμαι, ἐὰν δὲν δύναμαι, ἐὰν μὴ δύναμαι, ἐὰν μὴ δύνωμαι. Similarly 'when he arrived' passes through the successive stages ὅταν ἔφτασε, ὅταν ἔφθασε, ὅταν ἀφίχθη, ὅτε ἀφίχθη, ὅτε ἀφίκετο. Paradigmatic patterns are confused. Thus the verb 'bring' has a present theme φέρν- and an aorist theme φερ-: φέρνεις ~ ἔφερες. The purist, worried by the fact that φερ- is a present theme in ancient Greek, uses ἔφερες as an imperfect instead of an aorist; so he has to resuscitate the long-obsolete aorist ἤνεγκας (or -ες) to complete the paradigm. From there it is but a step to such choice morsels of archaism as ἐνεχθείς (suppletive aorist passive participle of φέρω in ancient Greek). Not only were foreign loan-words replaced by words of Greek derivation, but perfectly good Greek words too were replaced by what were thought to be their classical equivalents: χαμογελῶ 'smile' became μειδιῶ, χιονίστρα 'chilblain' became χείμετλον, ἐμεῖς

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[7] Triantaphyllides (1938) 97.

and ἐσεῖς became ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς, which are homophonous! These archaic words brought their archaic morphological system with them, instead of being adapted to the morphology of modern Greek.

The learned language had not in the past been generally used to describe the details of everyday life. The principles of ancient rhetoric, by which the Byzantines were guided, enjoined the avoidance of the trivial, the humble and the banal, and above all of the particular; one did not call a spade a spade, any more than did Tacitus in Latin – when he had to refer to it, he called it *per quae terra egeritur*. The katharevousa, if it was to serve as a national language for all purposes, had to have a word for everything. The existing terms of demotic were often morphologically or otherwise incompatible with the katharevousa, and there were no traditional learned terms for many objects and features of daily life. So fantastic pseudo-archaic words had to be invented. A nutcracker (τσακιστήρι) became καρυοθραύστης, καρυοκλάστης or καρυοκατάκτης, a corkscrew (τιρ-μπουσόνι) became ἐκπώμαστρον, the back of a chair (ράχη) became ἐρεισίνωτον, a blind alley (τυφλοσόκακο) – a Greek determinative compound one of whose elements is a Turkish loanword – became ἀδιέξοδον, a safe (κάσσα) became χρηματοκιβώτιον, a potato (πατάτα) became γεώμηλον, itself a calque of French *pomme de terre*, a chamber-pot (καθίκι) became οὐροδοχεῖον, and so on.

Manipulation of katharevousa in its extreme form demanded a good knowledge of ancient Greek at the levels of morphology, syntax and vocabulary, as well as acquaintance with a multitude of arbitrary neologisms. It was in vain that generations of schoolmasters tried to teach their pupils to speak and write it. Their lessons were rendered all the less effective by the fact that the schoolmaster himself, when he was not in the classroom, spoke the same demotic as everyone else. The result of all this was the creation of a new diglossy, related to that of the Byzantine epoch, but essentially different, inasmuch as the new learned language was supposed to be used by the whole community. In fact, if we take into account the fact that the majority of Greeks in the nineteenth century spoke their local dialect rather than common demotic in most situations, the situation can better be described as triglossy. It was a situation which hindered self-expression and communication, prevented the study and development of the

resources of the mother-tongue, and favoured the muddled, the ambiguous and the half-understood.[8]

By the end of the nineteenth century the influence of the Phanariots had declined, a new native bourgeoisie was growing up, universal education was producing a literate population which had nothing to read, and a generation of scholars and critics trained in France and Germany was interesting itself in the history of the Greek language – the katharevousa had no history. At the same time interest in the folklore of Greece was leading to a corresponding interest in the spoken language, dialect texts, folksongs and the like. It was under the influence of these and other factors that Jean Psichari (1854–1929)[9] developed his linguistic ideas. He wished to end the use of katharevousa and make a codified and systematised demotic the only national language. Demotic would have to borrow from katharevousa vocabulary elements necessary for philosophical, literary and scientific discourse, but these would without exception be adapted to demotic phonological and morphological patterns. At the same time the orthography, while remaining basically historical rather than phonetic, would be tidied up and regularised. His novel *Τὸ ταξίδι μου*, published in 1888, was the first serious literary prose in demotic, and it created a furore. In his eagerness to produce a regularised and codified demotic, Psichari often neglected the existence of doublets in the Greek vocabulary, e.g. δουλεία 'slavery' and δουλειά 'work, affair', θεωρία 'theory' and θωριά 'face', στοιχεῖο 'element' and στοιχειό 'monster', ἐργαλεῖο 'tool' and ἀργαλειό 'loom', πραγματεία 'scientific study' and πραμάτεια 'commodity', χωρίο 'passage in a book' and χωριό 'village'. And just as the purists invented false archaisms, so he occasionally invented false demoticisms, e.g. περκεφαλιά for περικεφαλαία 'helmet'. And by extending certain derivational suffixes of demotic to new semantic fields he sometimes produced a ridiculous effect: e.g. there are many abstract nouns in -άδα, a suffix of Venetian origin, e.g. νοστιμάδα 'savour, pleasantness'. When its use was extended to replace the learned -ότης, -ισμός in such words as κλασικάδα, this offended against the linguistic feeling of Psichari's contem-

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[8] Petrounias (1978).

[9] It is interesting that both Korais and Psichari, who were among the principal shapers of the national language, spent most of their lives in Paris, and had only limited direct contact with Greece and Greek-speaking milieux.

poraries. In fact, as we shall see, current demotic usage does not automatically adapt its numerous borrowings from katharevousa to demotic phonology and morphology, and readily tolerates coexistence of two or even more rival patterns.

Psichari, who was a philologist of distinction, based his preference for the spoken tongue on historical and linguistic considerations.[10] For most of his opponents, as well as for some of his followers, less rational and more emotional motives determined their attitude. Many felt that the only bond linking the Greeks of their own time to those of the Byzantine empire and of classical antiquity was their language, and that if that was given up, the national consciousness would wither away, and Greece would be absorbed by her non-Hellenic neighbours. The theory of the German scholar Fallmerayer – that the original Greek population had been ousted by Slavonic immigrants in the early middle ages, and that consequently the present-day Greeks were only the cultural successors, and not the biological descendants, of the ancient Greeks – though hotly contested by most Greek scholars, frightened many people. Thus the Language Question once more took on a political aspect, which it has retained ever since. Those who wished to replace the katharevousa for literary, scientific and official use were accused by their opponents of being traitors to their people and their church, Freemasons and tools of the Panslavists. In more recent times the charge against them has been of sympathy with Communism, usually with the strong anti-Slavonic overtones which such a charge has in Greece. In general the attitude of Greek governments to the Language Question has corresponded to their position on the political spectrum – though there have been exceptions to this rule. And it has always been possible to impugn a man's political views and his national loyalty by pointing to his use of language; at times this has degenerated into an unprincipled witch-hunt.

Popular interest in the Language Question has always been high, though often not particularly well-informed. Alexander Pallis's (1851–1935) demotic translations of the *Iliad* (1892–1904) and above all of the New Testament (1902) provoked riots in Athens.[11] And Greek readers sometimes give the impression of

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[10] Mirambel (1957).
[11] Pallis, like Korais and Psichari, belonged to the Greek diaspora, and lived mainly in Manchester and Liverpool.

being more interested in the linguistic form than in the content of a book.

In spite of some hesitations by Psichari's contemporaries, demotic soon became the language of all literary prose. Style and linguistic form became distinct, and the new demotic prose soon developed great stylistic flexibility in the hands of novelists and short-story writers.[12] Journalism, scientific writing, and official writing – laws, proclamations, instructions on filling up forms, and so on – remained the province of katharevousa. And katharevousa continued to be both the language taught in schools and the language of instruction. But it was a changing katharevousa. More and more such extravagant archaisms as the optative, the ancient Greek future, imperatives in -θι, the so-called Attic declension, tended to be quietly given up; the dative became rare; and a great many demotic words were admitted, although dressed in katharevousa forms. In 1917 the Liberal government of Eleftherios Venizelos introduced demotic as both the subject of instruction and the medium of instruction in the lower forms of schools, and a whole series of demotic textbooks had to be written. In 1921–23 a right-wing government restored katharevousa throughout the schools for two years. From 1923 till 1967 with a brief interval under the right-wing government of Tsaldaris in 1935–6 demotic continued to be the language of the lower forms of schools, with much hesitation in policy and variation of detail, and also with certain changes in the officially recognised linguistic form. In 1967 the military junta once again banned demotic completely from the schools. Once again textbooks in katharevousa had to be written. And the Greek child on going to school was told that the way he and his family and everyone he had ever known spoke was wrong and must be 'corrected' by a continuous and unremitting effort – an effort which, he would be quick to observe, the schoolmaster did not make once he was out of the classroom. It is beyond the scope of this book to discuss the psychological results of such a system of education.[13] On the linguistic level it certainly contributes to imprecision, ambiguity, and loading of emotional significance on to the linguistic form, a significance which may be a much more important part of the message than its overt content of information.

[12] Mirambel (1951), (1961b).
[13] Mirambel (1964b).

In July 1974 the military junta was overthrown and Greece returned to parliamentary democracy. The use of katharevousa had become associated with a regime which was disliked and even hated by the majority of Greeks for its brutality, and which by its political ineptitude had lost the support of those groups which had originally favoured it. There was a spontaneous move towards the use of demotic in all public communications. The government soon declared demotic – which it wisely did not define too closely – to be the language of the state, which would be used by its organs for all purposes. In particular demotic was to be the language of instruction in all classes of state schools, though naturally pupils in higher classes would have to read literature written in katharevousa. New textbooks were prepared, often by groups of teachers who had been waiting for years for such an opportunity. The schools are ultimately the key to the language question. It is in them, rather than through the work of men of letters or of government departments, that the linguistic behaviour of the next generation is determined. When the linguistic form chosen by the schools is supported by a wide consensus of opinion among the general public, this influence is irresistible. So far as an outsider can judge, the long battle over the national language has been won at last. A generation of children is going through school using in the classroom the same language as it uses outside. Children are no longer being brought up with split minds.

The archaising public notices which lingered on in such places as post offices, airports, and the Athens Metro have gradually been replaced. The uneasiness which many older people felt in using demotic on formal occasions has largely disappeared. What may have begun as an act of dissociation from the junta and its works is settling into a natural pattern of behaviour.

No government can legislate for the way people speak and write. There are individuals, especially among the older generation, who cannot or will not adapt to the winds of change. There are extreme right-wing newspapers which still appear in the most rigorous katharevousa. Those who paint right-wing slogans on walls still use katharevousa, though sometimes their grasp of its morphology and syntax is lamentably weak.[14] There are departments of society in which the use of katharevousa has

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[14] E.g. *Ψηφίσατε Ἐθνικὴν Παράστασις* on a wall near Athens during the 1981 election campaign.

survived in an almost institutionalised way, such as the church, the law courts, and the armed forces, though even in these there is a great difference in linguistic behaviour between the generations. The old uncertainty which beset so many Greeks when they had to speak or write in public is largely gone. Readers and listeners no longer scrutinise so critically the form of what is written or spoken, though almost all Greeks retain a lively interest in their own language. There is now virtually no situation in which it would be improper or embarrassing or ridiculous or insensitive or dangerous to use demotic, either in speech or in writing.

The demotic which is well on the way to becoming the national language – and which many Greeks prefer to call *Κοινή Νεοελληνική* (Common Modern Greek, henceforth abbreviated CMG) – is naturally not the uniform demotic of Psichari. Nor is it the mixed language (*μικτή* or *μιχτή*) which grew up as a kind of compromise linguistic form in the middle decades of the present century, occupying the middle ground between the language of literature – which was demotic – and that of official communication and scientific and technical writing – which was a fairly unrigorous katharevousa. A Greek newspaper was until 1967 linguistically a most interesting document. Official proclamations, public announcements and the like were in katharevousa. Editorial matter, literary and artistic criticism, the customary feuilleton, etc., were in demotic. The news pages were in different varieties of the 'mixed' language, the financial news, the international news and the like inclining towards katharevousa, the sports pages striking a more demotic note.

The 'mixed' language was macaronic, a purely external mixture of elements belonging to different systems. CMG is, or aims to be, a form of Greek systematically demotic in its structure, but able to make use of elements of katharevousa vocabulary – and sometimes morphology and phonology – to increase the scope of its expressiveness. What this means in practice we shall see. In the meantime it will be useful to look at an analysis of the modern Greek language made by Professor André Mirambel in an epoch-making article forty-five years ago,[15] in order to provide ourselves with a standard of comparison. Mirambel suggested that neither katharevousa nor demotic had any real internal unity. For him Greek was 'un ensemble d'usages linguistiques qui tantôt

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[15] Mirambel (1937).

s'opposent, tantôt se combinent'. In spite of its millenary external cohesion, Greek had, he argued, little inner cohesion. Mirambel identified five 'états de langue' in use in contemporary Greece:

(1) The katharevousa, the official language of state, army and administration. It avoids all that is not 'pure Greek' and consecrated by ancient written texts. But it has changed greatly over the last half-century. It is rich in adjectives and abstract nouns, addicted to formulae, practises an elaborate sentence-structure with several degrees of subordination, and readily forms calques of foreign terms. It enjoys still the reputation of corresponding to a higher degree of culture than other linguistic forms. No one speaks it regularly or consistently, and there are many situations in which its use is impossible, e.g. the most uncompromising purist would not make love in katharevousa. Yet it appears as the consecration of privilege and the guarantee of established order.

(2) The μικτή is structurally similar to the katharevousa, but avoids some of its extreme archaisms. It accepts indispensable terms from the spoken language without modification of their form, and thus juxtaposes heterogeneous forms. It is used both in writing and in speech, in the latter case often by those who try to speak katharevousa. It is the language of scientific and technical writing, of much journalism, and of political speeches.[16]

(3) The καθομιλουμένη, on the other hand, is demotic supplemented heavily by elements from the learned tradition. It admits most of the spoken forms and words, rejecting only some neologisms. It, too, has heterogeneous forms side by side. Thus it uses the spoken forms ἡ βρύση, τῆς βρύσης 'spring', ἡ νεότητα, τῆς νεότητας 'youth', but in technical or abstract terms it preserves the purist morphology, thus ἡ ἀναγέννησις, τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως 'renaissance', ἡ ἐθνικότης, τῆς ἐθνικότητος 'nationality'. It says ἑστία rather than τζάκι for 'hearth, household', because the latter word has a 'peasant' tone. It says ἅλας for 'salt' in the chemical sense, but ἅλατι in the culinary.[17] In general words and formulae from the learned language are freely adopted without mor-

[16] The Chamber of Deputies until its dissolution in 1967 conducted its business in purist Greek. The few interventions in demotic made by General Sarafis, the former resistance leader, are said to have been electrifying in their effect.

[17] A strict purist in the nineteenth century might have used the Attic form ἅλς in both senses.

phological change. It is the language of the urban middle classes and of Athenian society, with a wide range of spoken uses, and growing use in journalism. It is the result of a conflict between living and learned elements in subjects of a certain level of culture, who wish to express themselves effortlessly, without worrying about the uniformity of their linguistic usage.

(4) *Δημοτική* is the result of natural development of Greek over the centuries, the language whose development has been the main subject of this book. Its main characteristics are unification of nominal flexion, abundance of compounds, which are freely formed, a variety of new nominal and adjectival suffixes, but only a few inherited verbal suffixes (mainly because of the necessity of providing two themes for a Greek verb), many loan-words, often treated as indeclinables, an invariable relative pronoun *πού*, many new compound subordinating conjunctions, and a balance between synthetic and analytic structure. This is the language of the mass of the people, and of all who seek to speak naturally. It is also the language of almost all creative writing, and is finding increasing use in abstract and technical writing; though in this latter use it tends to acquire the slightly macaronic character of the *καθομιλουμένη*.

(5) *Μαλλιαρή*. This is a pejorative term used by purists to describe a systematisation of *δημοτική* by grammarians, who endeavour to choose between the many alternative forms available in demotic. It attempts to give added precision and clarity to the often somewhat vague demotic, and often advocates a reformed orthography, on phonetic rather than historic principles. This is no one's mother-tongue, and grammars of it are normative rather than descriptive.

Mirambel's analysis, made a generation and a half ago, is only partially valid today.[18] His fifth category is not really a state of the language parallel to the others, but rather an ideal, and one little pursued today. And of the others, (1) and (2) are varieties of katharevousa, (3) and (4) varieties of demotic. One may hesitate whether to class a sample text in (1) or (2), or in (3) or (4). But one cannot read two lines without seeing whether it is a variety of demotic or of katharevousa.

[18] On developments since Mirambel's analysis cf. Triantaphyllides (1949); Blanken (1956); Householder (1962); Mesevrinos (1974); Papadatos (1976); Schinas (1977); Warburton (1980); Browning (1982).

The changes which are taking place before our eyes are the most difficult to detect. The following notes on the tendencies in Greek in the last thirty years make no claim to be exhaustive. The language is probably today passing through a phase of change, and not yet stabilised. The role of Mirambel's katharevousa is rapidly ' diminishing to vanishing point. Passive ability to understand it is general and is still essential for those who wish to read older texts. Even today legal contracts and the like are often couched in cliché-ridden katharevousa, which no doubt helps to reinforce the mystique of the law. But there are few occasions for the spoken use of katharevousa. Lectures, political speeches, radio and television news bulletins, official announcements – until recently the preserve of katharevousa – are now always in CMG. Mirambel's mixed language is still used in speaking and writing, but its use is diminishing. It tends to be used on formal occasions by the less well educated, and flourishes in the sub-literary world of technical manuals. Mirambel's third and fourth categories are best regarded as different registers of CMG, which covers a broad spectrum. Its structure is firmly demotic. Vocabulary elements are readily adopted from katharevousa for a variety of purposes. They may be technical terms, particularly the countless international neologisms of the modern world, for which there may be no readily available demotic equivalent. But they may also be used by a speaker either deliberately or unconsciously in order to distance himself emotionally from the topic he is discussing, to make fun of it and undercut its importance, to reduce the degree of his personal involvement with his interlocutor, to cover up the fact that he has really nothing to say, as an indication that he is nervous and does not quite know where he stands with his interlocutor, etc., etc. The ways in which katharevousa elements can be used are subtle, and much may depend on tone of voice, facial expression, and extra-linguistic circumstances.[19] A great many words, too, which originated in katharevousa, have long been an integral part of demotic vocabulary.

Whether a katharevousa word is adapted to demotic phonology and morphology when it is used in CMG depends on both objective and subjective factors. A highly technical term, used only

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[19] Cf. the penetrating analysis in Setatos (1973), on which this paragraph is largely based. Hokwerda (1980) examines the uses of katharevousa elements in the poetry of K. G. Karyotakis (1896–1928).

in restricted contexts, is more likely to retain katharevousa phonology and morphology than a word in more general use. A semantic distinction may develop between the katharevousa and the demotic form, e.g. *δουλεία* (slavery): *δουλειά* (work), *ἀκριβῶς* (accurately): *ἀκριβά* (dear). A phrase or cliché is more likely to retain katharevousa phonology and morphology than a single word. At the same time the intention of the speaker may determine which form he uses. A word which retains its katharevousa pattern is, as it were, in inverted commas. The hearer or reader is directed to pay special attention to it and to the nuance which it expresses.

It is important to bear in mind that CMG, unlike many examples of Mirambel's 'mixed' language, does not – except by way of quotation – form sentences or lengthy strings in accordance with katharevousa structure. There are no declined participles, no phrases substantified by the definite article, etc. The borrowings are atomic – single words and clichés or stock phrases – and are embedded in sentences whose structure is essentially that of demotic.

All these factors combine to make the Greek of today remarkably flexible and expressive. A careless speaker or writer will make bad use of its resources; and there is no shortage of bad writing and loose and woolly expression in Greece today. But a speaker or writer with a feeling for the language can use to the full the subtle range of registers which it provides.

New ideas are expressed either by calque or by loan-word. Generally speaking, katharevousa uses calques, demotic uses loan-words, but there are many complexities in practice. Examples of calques in katharevousa are: *πόλεμος ἀστραπῆς* 'blitzkrieg', *ἀπομαγνητίζω* 'to degauss', *παρεμβατισμός* 'interventionism', *στρουθοκαμηλισμός* 'ostrich policy', *ἀεριωθόυμενον ἀεροπλάνον* 'jet aircraft', *διαστημόπλοιον* 'space-ship'. Any of these may be taken over by, and may eventually become a part of, CMG. Loan-words in demotic are either treated as indeclinable substantives, or are adapted to Greek morphology. Examples of the former are *ἀμπραιάζ, ἀμορτισέρ, μπάρ, μίς* 'beauty-queen'. Examples of the latter are *στοπάρω, στοπάρισμα, φρενάρω, φρενάρισμα, μιζεμπλιζάρω, μιζεμπλιζάρισμα* 'hair-set'. It will be noted how frequent the verbal suffix *-άρω* and its derivative *-άρισμα* are in these recent adapted loan-words. There is a tendency for loan-words to pass from the first to the second category when they are in frequent use. In technical manuals one often finds attempts at

providing katharevousa equivalents for loan-words, but these words rarely enter into general use. Thus to demotic ἀσανσέρ 'lift' there correspond katharevousa ἀνυφωτής, ἀνελκυστής, but they are scarcely used in speech. A concrete-mixer is ἡ μπετονιέρα – a loan-word adapted to Greek morphology; in technical manuals, but hardly anywhere else, one may find ὁ μαλακτήρ. The successful neologisms are those of demotic, or the katharevousa terms which have been taken over by demotic. The factors which determine their success or failure are often extra-linguistic. Thus though ὑπαρξισμός has replaced ἐξιστενσιαλισμός, often heard after the war, the pre-First World War term κοινωνισμός has been ousted by σοσιαλισμός. A rich source of neologisms is provided by the technical terms of international currency formed from Greek roots, which are readily adopted by Greek. An obvious example is κοσμοναύτης. But in order to be acceptable in Greek, these words have to be formed in accordance with Greek rules of derivation and composition. The international term is 'telegram', but Greek says τηλεγράφημα, the regular derivative from τηλεγραφῶ. There is sometimes a bewildering range of synonyms available. Thus a parking place for a car, can be ἡ στάθμευσις, ἡ στάθμευση, τὸ παρκάρισμα, and τὸ πάρκινγκ.

Words formed from Greek roots and adaptable to Greek morphological categories have a built-in linguistic advantage over phonologically awkward and indeclinable loan-words. It is this, rather than any purist preoccupations, which have led ποδόσφαιρο 'football' to outstrip φουτμπώλ in recent years. One may expect that in course of time a great many of the unmodified loan-words brought into Greek by the technological explosion of our age will be either adapted to fit a Greek morphological pattern or replaced by a calque, perhaps first formed in katharevousa.[20] Though katharevousa is slowly ceasing to be an 'état de langue' and is becoming a register to which a speaker or writer may shift within CMG, it still preserves its identity, and can function as a register of CMG only by continuing to do so. The following list of diagnostic features of katharevousa and demotic will enable any sample older text to be placed within the one or the other category, and will help the non-native speaker to orient himself within the changes of register of CMG.

[20] Mirambel (1961b).

DIAGNOSTIC FEATURES OF K AND D

K	*D*

(A) *Phonology and orthography*

Presence of final -*ν* in acc. sing., neuters in -*ον*, 1st person pl. in -*ομεν* etc.	Absence of final -*ν*
κτ, πτ, χθ, φθ	*χτ, φτ*[21]
Shifting accent in adjectives e.g. *νεωτέρα*	Fixed accent in adjectives e.g. *νεώτερη*

(B) *Morphology*[22]

εἰς τόν etc.	*στόν* etc.
ἀπὸ τόν etc.	*ἀπ' τόν* etc. (not always indicated in writing)
Enclitic gen. pl. *των*	*τους*
Articular infinitive	Verbal noun in -*σιμο, -σίματος*
-*όμεθα*	-*όμαστε*
-*θην*	-*θηκα*
-*θης* etc.	-*θηκες*
Unstressed augment	Augment in stressed position only

K		*D*	
-*όμην*	-*όμεθα*	-*όμουν*	-*όμαστε*
-*εσο*	-*εσθε*	-*όσουν*	-*όσαστε*
-*ετο*	-*οντο*	-*όταν*	-*όνταν*
in imperfect passive			

Imperfect of contract verbs

K		*D*	
-*ων*	-*ῶμεν*		
-*ας*	-*ᾶτε*	-*οῦσα*	-*ούσαμε*
-*α*	-*ων*	-*οῦσες*	-*ούσατε*
-*ουν*	-*οῦμεν*	-*οῦσε*	-*οῦσαν*
-*εις*	-*εῖτε*	or -*αγα* etc[23]	
-*ει*	-*ουν*		

Declined participles	Gerund in -*οντας*

(C) *Derivation*

-*τήριος*	-*ένιος*
-*τέος*	-*ούλης*
	-*ούτσικος*

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[21] On current usage cf. Warburton (1980).

[22] For descriptive morphological studies of the modern demotic noun and verb cf. Sotiropoulos (1972), Koutsoudas (1962).

[23] Though little used in writing, these forms are frequent enough in speech, and more so in some regions than in others.

	-άκι -άδα
-ως	-α (Adverbs)
-δην	
-άδην	
-δόν	
-αδόν	
Final vowel of prefix elided	**Final vowel of prefix often unelided**[24]

(D) *Vocabulary*

Compounds in εὐ-, δυσ-, τρισ-, ἰσο-, ἡμι-, παν-, φιλο- etc. Few dvandva compounds,[25] and in particular no verbal dvandvas	Dvandva compounds, other than a few found in Byzantine Greek. In particular, verbal dvandvas are characteristic of demotic, e.g. ἀνοιγοκλείνω, τρωγοπίνω
εἷς	ἕνας
μέγας	μεγάλος
ἰχθύς	ψάρι
πτηνόν	πουλί 'bird'
κύων	σκύλος, σκυλί 'dog'
ὀστοῦν	κόκκαλο 'bone'
ὀφθαλμός	μάτι 'eye'
ῥίς	μύτη 'nose'
ἧπαρ	συκώτι 'liver'
ἵσταμαι	στέκομαι 'stand'
ὕδωρ	νερό 'water'
πῦρ	φωτιά 'fire'
ἐρυθρός	κόκκινος 'red'
θερμός	ζεστός 'hot'
ὄφις	φίδι 'snake'
ἄνθος	λουλούδι 'flower'
παγνόω	παγώνω 'freeze'
κόπτω	κόβω 'cut'
πλησίον	κοντά 'near'
ὠθῶ	σπρώχνω 'push'
ῥίπτω	ῥίχνω 'throw'
ὀσφραίνομαι	μυρίζομαι 'smell'
ἔτος, ἐνιαυτός	χρόνος 'year'
διότι	γιατί 'because'

[24] For instance katharevousa κατέχω and demotic καταενοχλῶ. There is also the further point that compound verbs cannot in principle be formed at will in katharevousa, whereas in demotic they can. Cf. Warburton (1970) 49–67.

[25] A dvandva compound is a copulative compound in which neither element determines the other: e.g. Greek μαχαιροπήρουνο 'knife and fork, couvert' is a dvandva compound; English 'knife-grinder' is a determinative compound.

7 *The dialects of modern Greek*[1]

The study of the dialects of modern Greek in the nineteenth century laboured under two difficulties, one of which has only partially been surmounted at the present day. The first was the absence of descriptive accounts of the speech of individual regions. Much has been done in more recent years to remedy this shortcoming, but much still remains to be done. There is still no linguistic atlas of Greece. There are still no descriptions of the dialect of many areas.[2] And those which do exist are often based on antiquated principles, and take little account of modern linguistic science or of the advances that have been made in the study of the dialects of other European languages, particularly those of the Romance and Germanic families. The other shortcoming of earlier work in the field was the tendency to regard modern Greek dialects as the direct descendants of the dialects of ancient Greek. Scholars of the generation of F. W. Mullach sought to find Dorisms and Aeolisms in the medieval and modern Greek dialects, or even went further back, seeking the origin of certain of their characteristics in primitive Indo-European. We have seen that the ancient dialects were almost entirely replaced in late Hellenistic times by the Koine, the common Greek language based upon Attic. And it is clear that the dialects of modern Greek are all, with certain qualifications to be discussed later, the result of dialect differentiation within this common language, to which the ancient dialects, in so far as they survived at all, contributed extremely little.[3]

[1] The most recent treatment of modern Greek dialects as a whole is Kontosopoulos (1981). Though addressed to the general reader rather than to the linguist, it contains a great deal of detailed information gathered during the author's many years as editor of the Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικόν of the Athens Academy. Full bibliographies of dialect studies are published from time to time in the Λεξικογραφικὸν Δελτίον of the Academy.

[2] Kontosopoulos (1981) 131–2 lists the principal lacunae in our knowledge of modern Greek dialects.

[3] Mirambel (1953); Pop (1950); Kapsomenos (1958) 16–31, where further bibliographical indications will be found; Newton (1972).

The evidence for the history and development of the dialects of medieval and modern Greek consists in the first place of the dialects as spoken today, secondly of such dialect differences as can be discerned in earlier vernacular Greek literature, and thirdly of references to dialect differences in the writings of grammarians and others in the middle ages and early modern times. To these may be added the popular Greek loan-words in Slavonic, Vlach, Albanian, Turkish, and Italian (especially the Venetian dialect); but this material must be handled with extreme caution. Only when this evidence has been sifted can we go on to link the groups of the modern dialects with the political and demographic history of the Greek people. And the conclusions which we reach will necessarily be provisional and speculative.

Throughout mainland Greece, its offshore islands, the islands of the Aegean, and many of the coastal areas of Asia Minor and in Constantinople there were spoken until 1922–3 a group of dialects showing a great number of common features. The Greek population of the Asia Minor coast is now reduced to a small enclave in Smyrna – if indeed any resident Greek community survives there – and that of Constantinople is very much reduced in numbers since the Asia Minor disaster. These dialects, and in particular those of the Peloponnese, formed the basis of the common spoken language of the present day, demotic Greek, as has been explained in an earlier chapter. Within the area in which they are spoken there run a number of lines of cleavage – isoglosses – some of which have been used by linguists as a basis of classification of the dialects.[4] The lines of cleavage do not coincide with one another, and no single one is a sufficient basis for classification. Hence classificatory schemes have varied very much. In fact until we have sufficient material collected in the field in accordance with the principles of modern dialect study, it is probably best to leave the question of ultimate classification open.[5]

The most striking of the lines of cleavage is concerned with the treatment of unaccented vowels. North and east of a line which runs down the coast of Epirus and Acarnania, then along the Gulf of Corinth, across the Isthmus, along the northern mountain frontier of Attica, south of Euboea, through the middle of the

[4] A table of the more important isoglosses is to be found in Kontosopoulos (1981) xv.

[5] On the problem of classification cf. the above works, and also Triantaphyllides (1938) 62–74; Dawkins (1940).

island of Andros, north of Icaria and south of Samos (but not including Chios), and so to the coast of Asia Minor, leaving to the west and south the Ionian islands, the whole of the Peloponnese, Attica, and most of the Cyclades, unaccented *i* and *u* vanish (the consonant preceding an original unaccented *i* may be palatalised), unaccented *e* and *o* become *i* and *u*, and only *a* remains unchanged in unaccented position; accented vowels are not affected.[6] Thus to common Greek χαιρέτησα 'I greeted' there corresponds northern χιρέτσα, το μουστόπιτα μστοπτα, το ψηλὸς ψλὸς, το σηκώνω σκώνω, etc. The effect of this feature on the phonological and morphological structure of the northern dialects is far-reaching. The only final consonants permitted in the southern dialects are -s and -n, the latter being preserved only in certain phonetic conditions (see pp. 75–6). In the northern dialects any consonant and a great many consonant groups can occur in final position. And in some dialects they may or may not be palatalised. Many consonantal combinations occur in the northern dialects which are not permissible in the southern dialects and common Greek. Patterns of noun declension and verb conjugation change radically, as will be seen from the following examples, which are only schematic, since the details vary from region to region of northern Greece:

Southern and common	Northern
ἄνθρωπος 'man'	ἄνθρουπους
ἄνθρωπο	ἄνθρουπου
ἀνθρώπου	ἀνθρώπ
ἄνθρωποι or ἀνθρώποι	ἄνθρουπ or ἀνθρώπ
ἀνθρώπους	ἀνθρώπς
ἀνθρώπω(ν)	ἀνθρώπου(ν)
μύτη 'nose'	μύτ
μύτη	μύτ
μύτης	μύτς
μύτες	μύτις
μύτες	μύτις
μυτῶ(ν)	μτᾶ(ν)
λείπω 'leave'	λείπου
λείπεις	λείπς
λείπει	λείπ
λείπομε(ν)	λείπουμι(ν)
λείπετε	λείπιτι
λείπουν	λείπν(ι)

⁶ Cf. Symposio (1977) passim.

μεσημέρι 'midday'	μισμέρ
παιδεύω 'punish'	πιδεύου
παίδεψα	παίδιψα
παιδεύομαι	πιδεύουμι
παιδεύτηκα	πιδεύτκα
σπίτι 'house'	σπίτ
σπιτιού	σπτιού
γλεντίζει 'celebrates'	γλιντίζ
γλέντισε	γλέντσι
περιμένει 'waits'	πιρμέν
περίμενε	πιρίμινι etc.

Most northern dialects share certain other features, such as the pronunciation of s as sh, velar l before back vowels, the use of ἀπό + accusative in place of the genitive.[7]

The other lines of cleavage which divide the main bloc of mainland and Aegean Greek dialects are less striking in their overall effect, but may none the less turn out to be more important for the purpose of classification. One which has attracted much attention concerns the presence of an *irrational spirant* between two adjacent vowels. In many regions of mainland Greece this occurs between vowels but not between vowel plus v and vowel, e.g. κλαίγω but δουλεύω. In the Sporades and parts of the Peloponnese it does not occur between vowels, but does between vowel plus v and following vowel, e.g. κλαίω but δουλεύγω. In most of the Cyclades, Lesbos, Icaria and Crete it occurs in both situations, e.g. κλαίγω, δουλεύγω. Examples of this irrational spirant are found as early as the eighth or ninth century.[8] Another line of cleavage divides those regions where a nasal is preserved before a following occlusive and those where it is lost. In most of mainland Greece, in the islands of Zakynthos and Kythera, in Chios and in the Dodecanese one says ἄντρας, in Thrace, southern Macedonia, eastern Thessaly, northern Euboea, and in the Cyclades and Crete

[7] On the northern Greek dialects in general cf. Papadopoulos (1927), Kontosopoulos (1981) 61–72, Andriotis (1943–4), Symposio (1977).

[8] Cf. Jannaris (1897) 861, Chatzidakis (1905) 1.49–50. On the various manifestations of the irrational spirant cf. Newton (1972). There are sporadic instances of this irrational spirant after -v- diphthongs in papyri from the third century on; cf. Gignac (1976) 74. It is fully developed in verbs in -εύω in one of the vernacular Greek texts in Hebrew characters published by De Lange (1982): the manuscript is attributed to the twelfth century, and the text may well be older.

one says ἄδρας. Other lines of cleavage in matters of phonetics concern the pronunciation of the group -*ία* with or without synizesis, the palatalisation of χ to š and of κ to č before i and e, the retention or loss of final -*v*, the representation of ancient Greek *v* by i or u. At a different level there is a line of cleavage regarding the position of the object pronoun; in most parts of Greece the order is τὸν ἄκουσα but in some regions it is ἄκουσά τον. A more important syntactic line of cleavage is that which runs down the ridge of Mount Pindus, south of Thessaly, south of the Sporades and of Lesbos. North and east of this line the indirect object of a verb is in the accusative, e.g. σὲ δίνω; in the rest of Greece and in common demotic, it is in the dative, e.g. σοῦ δίνω.

Among the many lexical lines of cleavage one of the most interesting is that concerning interrogative 'what?', which is τί in most dialects but εἴντα in others. Many dialects preserve ancient Greek words lost in CMG. This is particularly the case with those peripheral dialects which also show archaic phonology and morphology.

Eastwards, southwards and westwards of this main bloc of dialects there stretches a belt of archaic dialects, all of which share some of a number of characteristics not found in the main bloc. These dialects comprise Bithynian, Pontic, in north-eastern Asia Minor, and with an outlier in the region of Rostov in southern Russia (since 1922–3 Pontic is no longer spoken in Asia Minor, except in a few Greek-speaking Muslim villages, and knowledge of it is rapidly disappearing among the descendants of the refugees settled in various parts of Greece), the strange Greek of Mariupol, the dialects of the interior of Asia Minor spoken in three separate enclaves (Cappodocia and the two smaller regions of Phárasa and Sílli) before 1922–3, the dialect of Livisi in the south-west corner of Asia Minor before 1922–3, Cypriot, the Dodecanesian dialects, and the dialects of the two surviving Greek enclaves in southern Italy, in a group of villages south of Lecce in Apulia and around Bova in Calabria. Features which some or all of these dialects share are the retention of double consonants where these occurred in classical Greek, e.g. ἄλ-λος, Ἐλ-λάδα, and sometimes the development of unhistorical double consonants, e.g. Cypriot πίννω 'drink'; the preservation of final -*v*, the preservation of an accusative plural in -*ας* opposed to the nominative in -*ες*; 3rd person plural of verbs in -*ουσι* and -*ασι* instead of -*ουν* and -*αν*. In addition they preserve many lexical elements which have been lost or re-

placed in the main bloc of dialects and hence in demotic.[9] Some of
the Asia Minor dialects often, but not always, represent Koine *η*
by *ε*, thus *νύφε, πολίτες*. The system of aspects of the verb is
organised in a structure different from that of 'normal' Greek and
probably owing something to Turkish influence, since those Greek
communities were usually bilingual. The Italian dialects show loss
of final -*ς*, preservation of infinitive and participles, and sometimes
-*α*- representing common Greek -*η*- from proto-Hellenic -*ā*-, i.e.
they apparently preserve a trace of Doric, or at any rate non-Attic,
phonology. There are traces of this non-Attic -*α*- in Cretan, and
here and there elsewhere, but only in isolated words, in particular
in place-names, which are particularly stable in form.

Finally there is the very aberrant Tsakonian dialect spoken in a
mountainous area on the east coast of the Peloponnese and in a
slightly different form, until 1922–3, on the south coast of the Sea
of Marmara.[10] Tsakonian shows many features which link it with
the latest recorded form of the Laconian dialect of ancient Sparta,
e.g. retention of *α* in place of common Greek *η*, e.g. *τὰν ἀμέρα, ἁ
μάτη* (= *ἡ μήτηρ*); pronunciation of original *υ* as *ου*, e.g. *γουναῖκα,
κουβάνε* (*κυάνεος*), *κούνε* (*κύων*); representation of an original
digamma – which-survived longest in the Doric dialects of the
Peloponnese – by *β*, e.g. *δαβελέ* (cf. Hesych. *δαβελός δαλός*) *βάννε*
(*ἄρνος*); rhotacism of originally final -*ς*, e.g. *τὰρ ἀμερί* (*τῆς ἡμέρας*),
νὰ χαρῆρε (*νὰ χαρῆς*); representation of original *θ* by *σ*, e.g. *σέρι*
(*θέρος*); loss of intervocalic -*σ*-, e.g. *ὁροῦα* (*ὁρῶσα*). It also pre-
serves many words not surviving elsewhere in spoken Greek, e.g.
ἄντε (*ἄρτος*), *ὄνε* (*ὄνος*), *ἐκιοῦ* (*τύ – σύ*), *ὔο* (*ὕδωρ*); note in the last
word the treatment of upsilon; it cannot be a recent borrowing
from some other dialect, for it is unknown in other dialects, where
it is replaced by *νερό*, yet it shows the common Greek rendering i,
and not the Doric u. In fact Tsakonian looks like the descendant of
a late form of Peloponnesian Doric already heavily contaminated
by Koine. This dialect is also extremely aberrant in its verbal
conjugation. The present stem forms no indicative tenses, the
present and imperfect indicative being formed by a periphrasis

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[9] The concept of a fringe of archaic dialects with certain archaic features in
common which were lost by the central dialects is discussed, with full references to
the literature, by Caratzas (1958a), 26–39.

[10] Pernot (1934); Kostakis (1951), (1980); Charalambopoulos (1980). The name
'Tsakonian' is a learned term, not normally used by Tsakonian speakers to describe
their own dialect.

with 'to be' and the present participle – **cf. the Hellenistic** ἦν διδ-
άσκων – thus we have:

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Present	ἔμι ὁροῦ	ὁροῦα	ὁροῦντα
	ἔσι ὁροῦ	ὁροῦα	ὁροῦντα
	ἔνι ὁροῦ	ὁροῦα	ὁροῦντα
	ἔμμε ὁροῦντε		
	ἔττε ὁροῦντε		
	εἴσι ὁροῦντε		
Imperfect	ἔμα ὁροῦ	ὁροῦα	ὁροῦντα
	ἔσα ὁροῦ	ὁροῦα	ὁροῦντα
	ἔκη ὁροῦ	ὁροῦα	ὁροῦντα
	ἔμαϊ ὀροῦντε		
	ἔτταϊ ὁροῦντε		
	ἤγκη ὁροῦντε[11]		

The implications of this verb pattern for the structure of
Tsakonian as compared with other Greek dialects will be con-
sidered later in this chapter. The Tsakonian of Asia Minor, spoken
by the descendants of settlers from the eastern Peloponnese in the
fifteenth century, has a similarly organised verbal conjugation.

Of vernacular or near-vernacular literary texts the earliest show
no significant coincidence with any of the modern dialects.
Cypriot, with many of its present characteristics, is found recorded
as early as the fourteenth century in the Assizes of Cyprus, in the
fifteenth century in the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas, early in
the sixteenth century in that of George Boustronios, and in a
collection of love poems in a sixteenth-century manuscript now in
the Marcian Library in Venice.[12] Cretan poetry of the sixteenth
century shows many dialect features, and that of the seventeenth
century is largely in a standardised language based upon the
spoken dialects of eastern Crete.[13] Otherwise there is little in the
way of recognisable dialect texts until the nineteenth century.
Certain Greek texts written in Hebrew characters for the use of
Greek-speaking Jewish communities in the twelfth–thirteenth
centuries and the sixteenth century respectively have been held to

[11] Asia Minor Tsakonian, so far as we can discern, had a different word-order in
the periphrastic tenses – ὁροῦ ἔμι instead of ἔμι ὁροῦ. It is not clear from which part
of the Tsakonian-speaking area – which once extended as far south as Monemvasia
– these emigrants originally came.

[12] Ed. Siapkaras-Pitsillides (1952).

[13] Embiricos (1960); Manoussacas (1953).

show identifying traits of this or that dialect. But their orthography is so imprecise that few conclusions can be drawn from them.[14] A fifteenth-century Russian – Greek phrase book shows typical features of the present day northern dialects.[15]

The remarks of medieval and early modern Greek grammarians on local varieties of Greek spoken in their own time are in general vitiated by the conception that the ancient Greek dialects still existed. For instance, Kabasilas writes (Crusius, *Turco-graecia*, 461): Περὶ δὲ τῶν διαλέκτων τί ἂν καὶ εἴποιμι, πολλῶν οὐσῶν καὶ διαφόρων ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα ... ἔτι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν Δωρικῶς, τοὺς δὲ Ἀττικῶς, ἄλλους Αἰολικῶς, ἑτέρους Ἰωνικῶς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κοινῶς φθεγγομένους εὑρήσει τις 'Of the dialects what am I to say, since they are many and varied, more than seventy in number ... furthermore of our uneducated people you will find some speaking Doric, some Attic, others Aeolic, others Ionic, and yet others the common tongue.' However, Eustathios, teacher in the Patriarchal School in Constantinople in the third quarter of the twelfth century and later Metropolitan of Thessalonica, has some interesting observations in his extensive commentary on the *Iliad*, e.g. that some people in the east say ἀχάντια instead of ἀκάνθια, a feature characteristic of present-day Pontic (Eust. 468.33). At the end of the twelfth century Michael Choniates, Metropolitan of Athens, cites words and forms typical of the Athenian dialect of his day (S. Lambros, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα II*, Athens 1880, 43). The fifteenth-century satirical dialogue *Mazaris* mentions Tsakonian, but the examples which it cites appear to have no relation to present-day Tsakonian. Greek loan-words in neighbouring languages may sometimes furnish useful indications. There are, for instance, many Greek loan-words in the Aromunian of the transhumant Vlach shepherds of Epirus and Pindus. Their settlement in these regions seems to have taken place between the eighth and tenth centuries, and they can

[14] Hesseling (1901), (1897); Perles (1893). On Tobiah ben Eliezer of Kastoria, to whom a Greek translation of part of the Pentateuch is attributed, cf. Starr (1939) 60–6, 215–18. Two further vernacular Greek texts written in Hebrew characters are published by De Lange (1982). The first is a Greek version of Ecclesiastes 2.13–23, the second a glossary to the First Book of Kings. Being fully pointed, these texts represent Greek phonology with great accuracy. Noteworthy features are the presence of an irrational spirant in verbs in - εύω (πορευγόμενος), labile final -ν, absence of the dative, representation of unaccented -ο- by -ου- in certain cases (ἀπουκάτω), the use of χωρικός (= 'foolish').

[15] Vasmer (1923).

be presumed to have been illiterate then, as they were until the twentieth century, and to have had little or no contact with Greek literary culture. The fact that these loan-words do not show the treatment of unaccented vowels typical of the northern Greek dialects spoken in their area of settlement has been taken as good evidence that these changes had not taken place at the time of their settlement, and so provides a *terminus post quem*. Even in this case, however, caution is necessary. There are areas in Epirus at the present day in which the northern Greek vowel changes do not occur. But they are probably the result of later population movements. And in any case the likelihood that the nomad Vlachs borrowed all their Greek words from one or two small areas is slight.[16] Greek loan-words in South Slavonic are of more doubtful evidential value, since many of them were made from purist Greek by men of learning. But there are some oddities which never seem to have been satisfactorily explained. What is one to make, for instance, of Serbian *panadjur* (from πανήγυρις), which not only preserves the non-Attic a in the second syllable, as do some forms of the word in modern Greek, but also represents the upsilon of the third syllable by u? It may be a Greek loan-word via Turkish; but the modern Turkish form is *panair*. Early Russian loan-words present some problems too, e.g. *korabl'* from καράβιον with *beta* represented by b instead of the usual v. There is room for a fresh study of all early Slavonic borrowings from Greek by a competent Greek dialectologist.[17]

We may now turn to the history of the Greek dialects. Once the Koine had become the speech of the vast majority of Greek speakers from Sicily to the Iranian frontier, two tendencies were continuously at work. On the one hand, there was the natural tendency of a language spoken over a wide area to develop regional differences, which in the case of Greek may have been strengthened by long periods of bilingualism in certain areas and

[16] The generally accepted view that the northern Greek treatment of unaccented vowels did not originate before the tenth century is based on Andriotis (1933). It has recently been challenged by G. Babiniotes in Symposio (1977) 13–21. Babiniotes argues that many Greek loan-words in Aromunian do not show northern Greek vocalism, and that some words of Latin origin in Aromunian show a phonological change similar to that of northern Greek. He also argues that the Aromunians or Vlachs did not enter Greece from the north, but are descended from 'Latinised Hellenes'; this is an unverifiable and *prima facie* unlikely hypothesis.

[17] The basic collection of material is still Vasmer (1900), (1907), (1909).

the consequent effects of the linguistic substratum on the Greek spoken there. This would be particularly the case in Asia Minor, the Hellenisation of which was a very slow process, despite the early establishment of a large number of Greek cities on the coast and in the interior. On the other hand, there was the unifying effect of the common literary language, of the frequent and easy communication between the different parts of the empire, of the conscious efforts of schools to maintain conformity to a standard, of the church, with its common language of liturgy and predication, and all the factors making for uniformity in a centralised state whose uniform institutions enjoyed great prestige. In the areas where Greek had been for centuries the language of the whole population, i.e. in mainland Greece, the islands, the west coast of Asia Minor, and in Sicily and south Italy the Koine spoken, especially in the remoter parts of the countryside or among the members of any relatively closed group, might still show strong traces of the ancient Greek dialect of the region. What we must look for in trying to establish the origin and early history of the modern dialects are situations in which this or that area is to some degree cut off from the rest of the Greek-speaking community, and the tendency towards uniformity thus weakened.

One such situation would be that created by the invasion and partial settlement of the Peloponnese by the Slavs in the last decades of the sixth and the early seventh century[18] (Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.10, *Chron. Monemvas.* pp. 65-70). Our sources speak of wholesale movements of population, and one source, a chronicle of great interest but uncertain reliability, speaks of migration of shepherds from Laconia to the mountainous region near Monemvasia, shepherds whose descendants were called Tsakonians. Whether this is genuine folk tradition or learned construction is a moot point. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the Slavonic invasions forced many of the Greek population of the Peloponnese to withdraw into the least accessible and most easily defensible areas.[19] The wild mountains of Tsakonia are just such an area – those for whom a visit is impossible should read the interesting account of the area in the early sixties of last century by Gustave Deville in the introduction to his *Étude du dialecte Tzaconien*,

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[18] The problems of the settlement of the Slavs in Greece are most recently discussed by Weithmann (1978) and Popović (1980).

[19] Bon (1951) 27-74.

Paris 1866. Most of the interior of the Peloponnese was effectively withdrawn from Byzantine control until the beginning of the ninth century, though Byzantine claims to sovereignty were never, of course, given up. Tsakonia, though on the coast, has no port, and a dangerous and forbidding coast-line; it must be counted as a part of the interior. We know that of all the ancient Greek dialects the Doric of the Peloponnese was that which survived longest on the lips of the peasantry. In the remoter areas of the Peloponnese it seems *a priori* likely that as late as the sixth century a very Doricising Koine, if not pure Doric, was spoken. For a couple of centuries the mountain dwellers of Tsakonia must have been virtually cut off from the rest of the Greek-speaking community, and their dialect must have developed in the absence of the tendencies to uniformity which prevailed elsewhere. It is to these circumstances that we must attribute the origin of the Tsakonian dialect and its isolated position among the dialects of modern Greek, in being to some extent the descendant of one of the dialects of ancient Greek. The remoteness and inaccessibility of their homeland have until today prevented the Tsakonians' dialect from replacement by one of the neighbouring dialects or by common demotic, though they have not prevented influences from these varieties of Greek affecting Tsakonian. The first mention of the Tsakonians is by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the middle of the tenth century, who speaks of them as forming a special corps in the Byzantine army.[20] Their name is possibly to be connected with that of the ancient Laconians, though the precise etymology is still disputed.[21]

The invasions and settlement of the Seljuk Turks in the closing decades of the eleventh century put an end for ever to Byzantine power in most of the interior of Asia Minor. Areas were recovered and lost again, and considerable movements of population took place. The Greek church remained in being, giving some kind of cultural unity to the dwindling Greek communities, but in general the conditions favoured dialect differentiation and preservation of peculiarities rather than uniformity.[22] Most of Pontus, it is true, was never effectively occupied by the Seljuks. But it was isolated

[20] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De caerimoniis* (ii. 49).

[21] On the etymology of the name 'Tsakonian' cf. the exhaustive discussion in Karatzas (1976).

[22] On the conditions in Asia Minor at the time of the Seljuk conquest and after cf. Vryonis (1971).

from the rest of the Byzantine empire, was virtually independent during part of the twelfth century under the dynasts of the Gabras family, and from the beginning of the thirteenth century until the middle of the fifteenth it formed the independent empire of Trebizond. The Pontic Greeks led a strange frontier life, fighting with the nomadic Turcomans for the high pastures of the Matzouka, and had little contact with the main areas of Greek settlement further west. The Seljuk invasion and the subsequent Ottoman occupation were certainly major factors in the continuing differentiation between the Asia Minor dialects and those of the rest of the Hellenic world. Many have held that they provide a sufficient explanation of the present-day dialect situation. However, it is doubtful whether they provide sufficient time for the development of the distinguishing characteristics of the Asia Minor dialects. Already in the twelfth century Eustathios cites one characteristic Pontic form. Unfortunately we have virtually no evidence for the condition of the Asia Minor dialects from then until the early nineteenth century, so we cannot tell when they acquired their present shape. It seems probable that the Arab invasions of the seventh and eighth centuries, together with the local peculiarities of Koine Greek in Asia Minor, provided the conditions in which the speech of these areas began to be significantly differentiated from common spoken Koine. Cappadocia, where the largest of the Greek enclaves in Asia Minor was situated until 1922–3, was a frontier area in those crucial centuries, where Moslem and Christian frontiersmen maintained an uneasy peace punctuated by raids and reprisals. It was in Cappadocia that the independent Paulician state was set up in the ninth century.[23] We have thus a long period beginning in the middle of the seventh century when the Greeks of this region were to some extent isolated from their fellows. The same is true of Pontus, which from the late sixth century was subject to Persian and later Arab invasions, and was constantly menaced by the Iberian Lazes.

In 647 Moawiyah, the Arab governor of Syria, launched the newly-built Arab fleet against Cyprus, captured Constantia the capital, and became for a short time master of the island. After a period of Arab occupation, the duration of which is not clear, a treaty was signed between the Byzantine government and the Caliphate, whereby Cyprus became demilitarised and subject to the joint sovereignty of the two states, who divided the annual

[23] Cf. Garsoian (1967), where references to the relevant literature will be found.

tribute between them. This condominium, interrupted occasionally by short-lived hostilities, lasted until 965, when Cyprus was once again incorporated into the Byzantine empire. These centuries of relative isolation are probably the period in which the Cypriot dialect began to follow a different path of development from the Greek of more central areas.[24] By its first appearance in literature in the fourteenth century most of its present-day features were already established.

The islands of the Dodecanese, like Cyprus, were for long in a kind of no-man's-land between Byzantium and the Arabs, and it was probably at this time that the main distinctive features of their dialects – which have much in common with Cypriot – became established. In addition some of the islands themselves, such as Carpathos, had long been backwaters, out of the main stream of life in the late Roman and early Byzantine empire, important neither for war nor for trade 'nor for the tribute which they furnished. No doubt the Koine Greek spoken there before the advent of the Arabs had an odd and archaic colouring, and it may have preserved many features, though not whole structures, inherited from the dialect spoken there before the spread of Koine.

The Arab occupation of Crete was later and shorter than that of Cyprus. The island was seized by Arab emigrants from Spain, who had briefly settled in Egypt, in either 823 or 825, and it remained in Arab hands until its recapture by Nicephorus Phocas in 967. We know very little about the life of the Greek population in Arab Crete. But there was certainly very little intercourse with the rest of the Greek world.[25] This period of occupation was probably crucial in establishing the differential characteristics of the Cretan dialect, which is much less archaic than those of Cyprus or the Dodecanese. No doubt even before 823 the speech of Crete, which played little part in the life of the Byzantine empire, had begun to develop features of its own.

There are now only two tiny enclaves of Greek speech in southern Italy. A few centuries ago their extent was much greater. Still earlier one hears of Greek being currently spoken in many parts of south Italy. Now it is clear that there was a considerable immi-

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[24] On the situation in Cyprus from the 7th to the 10th century cf. Browning (1980).

[25] Embiricos (1960) 31; Papadopoulos (1948). There seems to have been considerable Arab settlement and conversion of the Greek population to Islam. Cf. most recently B. Ph. Chrestides *Ἡ κατάληψη τῆς Κρήτης ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἄραβες* (± 824), Athens 1982, especially pp. 107–50.

gration from Greece during Byzantine times. We hear of refugees from the rule of the Iconoclast emperors of the eighth century – mostly monks and so unlikely to contribute permanently to the demographic pattern – as well as of fugitives from the western Peloponnese and elsewhere during the Avar and Slav invasions of the late sixth and seventh centuries. And during the Byzantine reconquest of the late ninth and tenth centuries there was a good deal of settlement by Greeks from other regions of the empire on lands taken from the Arabs, or occasionally from the Lombards. Students of Italian Greek in the nineteenth century supposed that the surviving enclaves were the descendants of settlements made in Byzantine times, and looked – more often than not in vain – for parallels in the dialects of mainland Greece to the peculiar features of the Greek of Bova and Otranto. It is now clear, above all from the researches of Rohlfs and Caratzas,[26] that the speech of these enclaves is the descendant, not of the language of Byzantine immigrants, but of the Greek colonists of Magna Graecia. In other words Greek never died out entirely in south Italy, though the area in which it was spoken was greatly reduced by the advance of Latin. When the Byzantine immigrants arrived they found a Greek-speaking peasantry still settled on the land in some areas, whose speech was an independent development of the vernacular of Magna Graecia in the late Roman empire, no doubt a regional variety of Koine with a heavy dialect colouring. Only by this hypothesis can the presence of so many archaic features not found in any other Greek dialect be explained. And there is nothing inconsistent with it in the meagre historical record. Here then we have a Greek-speaking community isolated from the rest of the Hellenic world virtually since the death of Theodosius in 395, with a brief reintegration between Justinian's reconquest and the growth of Lombard and Arab power, and again during the Byzantine reoccupation in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and always remote from the centres of power and culture. These were the conditions which gave rise to the archaic and aberrant Greek dialects of the now bilingual inhabitants of the two enclaves in the toe and the heel of Italy.

It is more difficult to determine the circumstances in which the differences within the mainland group of dialects became

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[26] Cf. the list of Rohlfs' works on south Italian Greek on p. 146 in the bibliography. For the references to Caratzas cf. note 9.

established. The peculiar treatment of unaccented vowels in the northern dialects has been connected with the extensive Albanian settlements in northern Greece in the later middle ages. But apart from the fact that there is no similar feature in Albanian, recent studies have suggested that there was no distinction between accented and unaccented vowels in northern Greek before the tenth century, and that the distinction was well established by the twelfth; the Albanian immigration did not become massive until the fourteenth century.[27] Slavonic influence is a possible explanation, since considerable areas of northern Greece were occupied for periods by the Bulgarians, and in certain Bulgarian dialects today there is a similar differentiation between accented and unaccented vowels. Other causes suggested are the influence of a strong stress accent, and a continuation of a tendency to narrow certain vowels which is already seen in the Thessalian dialect of ancient Greek.[28] A similar, but not identical, distinction in treatment between accented and unaccented vowels is found in some Asia Minor dialects, where it is probably of quite independent origin. What is certain is that the long Latin occupation of most of mainland Greece and many of the Cyclades encouraged dialectal differentiation, since the prestige of metropolitan speech was lowered and the traditional educational system largely discontinued.[29] The peculiarities of the now virtually extinct dialects of Megara, Aegina, Athens, and Kyme in Euboea, which included representation of ancient Greek *v* by u, are probably partly to be explained by the fact that for centuries they were Greek-speaking enclaves in an area of dense Albanian settlement. But their archaic features cannot be wholly explained by this relatively recent isolation. The lines followed by certain isoglosses today are the result of population movements in the Turkish period. For instance, the northern character of the dialect of Samos is due to the settlement there of many immigrants from the northern Greek mainland.

Greek communities settled outside Greece in modern times have not generally developed a dialect of their own, but speak common demotic, with more or less heavy lexical borrowings from

[27] Andriotis (1933).

[28] On possible explanations of the northern Greek treatment of unstressed vowels cf. Symposio (1977), especially the contributions of G. G. Magoulas (pp. 31–6), A. Malikoute-Drachman and G. Drachman (pp. 37–50), and Ch. P. Symeonides (pp. 63–71).

[29] Anagnostopoulos (1924).

the language of the local population. This was true of the large
Greek community of Odessa before 1917, which always had close
links with Constantinople, of the even larger Greek communities
of Alexandria and Cairo, and of other smaller settlements in many
parts of the world. The Greek communities in the United States
tend to become assimilated and to lose their language. A recent
study of the Greek community of Chicago has thrown an interest-
ing light on the gradual anglicisation of the Greek of the bilingual
generations, as well as on the tendency to reserve Greek for a more
and more restricted group of situations.[30] The Cypriot Greek
community of London, which is of very recent origin, is peculiar in
that it consists of speakers of a single dialect or group of closely
related dialects. The second generation is often bilingual in
Cypriot Greek and English, with only an imperfect or passive
knowledge of common demotic. The inhabitants of the Corsican
village of Cargèse speak – or rather spoke, since there are by now
only a few old persons who have any facility in Greek – a
Peloponnesian dialect, being descendants of immigrants from the
western Peloponnese in the eighteenth century.[31] It is not clear to
the present writer to what extent the Pontic dialect of Rostov and
the very strange dialect of Mariupol still survive. The Soviet census
of 1969 recorded 336, 869 persons of Greek 'nationality', of whom
132, 203 gave Greek as their first language. The 1979 census figures
are not yet fully available.[32]

As has already been indicated, there are considerable structural
differences between certain of the dialects and common demotic.
On the level of phonology, common demotic, the southern dialects
of the mainland and those of the southern Cyclades and Crete,
together with those of the Dodecanese and Cyprus, have a trian-
gular system of five vowel phonemes, while the northern dialects
have a similar system of five phonemes in accented syllables,
but a three-phoneme system in unaccented syllables. The dialect
of Phárasa in Asia Minor has a six-vowel system in accented
syllables, and the normal five-vowel system in unaccented
syllables. Pontic, together with the Tsakonian of the Propontis
and certain dialects of Thrace and Thessaly, show a seven-vowel

[30] Seaman (1972).

[31] Cf. Blanken (1951), (1956).

[32] There are still Greek-speaking communities in Abkhazia and in southern
Georgia (Letter of Dr Irina Nodia, Georgian Academy of Sciences, of 21 May
1969).

system in all syllables. Cappadocian and the dialect of Sílli have a quadrilateral system of eight vowel phonemes, which is that of the surrounding Turkish. In these dialects a series of new noun-types has arisen parallel to those in a, e, i, o and u of common demotic. The development of vocalic harmony of the Turkish pattern in the dialects of Cappadocia and Sílli has led to the creation of a double series of terminations in the present of verbs with terminal accentuation: eu, -as, -a, -umi, -ati, -uši, and -o, -es, -e, -ümi, -ete, -üši.[33]

While in common demotic and the dialects of the mainland and the islands, all verbs have two themes, each of which forms one or more indicative tenses, a future tense, a subjunctive and a conditional, this regular pattern is subject to considerable perturbation in Tsakonian and in the Asia Minor dialects.[34] In Tsakonian only the aorist theme can form an indicative tense, though both themes form subjunctive and futures. The present and imperfect indicative are formed by periphrases with a present participle, akin to the English 'I am going', thus the symmetry between the themes is broken. The dialects of Cappadocia and Sílli have two verbal themes, but only the aorist theme is capable of producing a subjunctive and a future. There is thus no opposition of aspect in the subjunctive and the future, as there is in common demotic. The same structure is found in the dialect of Phárasa, and in addition there is no periphrastic perfect tense, its functions having been taken over by the aorist. The Pontic dialects also limit the expression of aspect to the indicative, though the details vary, some dialects preserving the present subjunctive, others the aorist. How far these divergences from the common Greek verbal pattern are due to Turkish influence is a matter of speculation, since we have no texts in these dialects from an early period.

Some of the Asia Minor dialects, together with the Greek of Mariupol, the speakers of which are descended from settlers from the Crimea, show a rearrangement of the system of genders, resulting in a differentiation between animate and inanimate substantives. This is often accompanied by a reduction in the use of the article, and consequent weakening of the distinction between definite and indefinite substantives. These features are probably due to Turkish or Tatar influence, since these communities were largely bilingual. Mariupol Greek has in addition lost the genitive

[33] Mirambel (1965).
[34] Mirambel (1964a).

case entirely, and expresses possession by a construction modelled on that of Tatar, e.g. *spiti-t porta* '(the door of the house)', *tata-t tu spit* '(his father's house)'.[35]

It is clear that the Greek dialects often show the kind of divergences in structure which, in the absence of unifying factors, could have given rise to a group of languages as diverse as the Romance or the Slavonic family. The unifying factors have always been strong – the political and cultural unity fostered or imposed by the Byzantine empire, the sense of group identity as against the Muslims, the Armenians, the Slavs, or the Latins of the west, which in time became a sense of national identity, the influence of education, the movements of individuals and groups within the Greek-speaking world. In recent times there have been added further factors favouring unity: universal elementary education, military service, improvement of roads and transport, the effects of such media of mass communication as cinema, radio, and television, and above all the rapid displacement of the population from the countryside to the towns. Whole regions, such as Mani, are inhabited only thinly and almost exclusively by the elderly. On many small islands emigration is the rule for both men and women when they reach adulthood. The result is the rapid disappearance of many Greek dialects which only a generation ago were in full use.[36] Most of the dialects of central Greece and the Peloponnese have been replaced by CMG with more or less of local dialect colouring. The same is true of the dialects spoken in the Ionian islands, in Kythera, and in the smaller islands of the Aegean. Dialect speech is better preserved in northern Greece and in the larger islands such as Crete, Rhodes, and Chios. But even there all classes no longer use dialect speech for informal communication among themselves; dialect speech is largely confined to villages. Only in Cyprus is the local dialect (of which there are several regional varieties) the universal medium of informal communication. In fact many Cypriots do not feel entirely at home in CMG, and prefer to use katharevousa – or English – as a medium of formal communication. Cypriot colonies abroad, and particularly that in London, maintain the use of Cypriot dialect, and sometimes have little acquaintance with other forms of Greek. So, in

[35] The only adequate descriptive study of Mariupol Greek is Sergievskij (1934).
[36] Charalambopoulos (1980) illustrates the factors which in the last two decades have favoured the decline of Tsakonian.

spite of the strong local patriotism of many Greeks, it seems that dialect speech, outside Cyprus, is likely to be replaced by dialect-coloured CMG. Greek dialects, like English dialects, are doomed to disappearance.

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